

# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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- ART. I.—1. *History of Civilization in England.* By W. BUCKLE.  
2. *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia.* Edited by J. R. LOGAN, Vol. III. Part I, (New Series.)  
3. *University Education in England for Natives of India.* By HODGSON PRATT, ESQ., B. C. S.

THE portly volume whose title we have placed at the head of our list, and to whose contents we shall principally have to call attention, is the first of two which together are to form an introduction to the *History of Civilization in England*; it thus constitutes one-half of the gigantic porch of what will be when completed one of the most colossal structures ever raised by the genius of man. The author believes that history has never yet been philosophically treated, he asserts that all previous historians have been mere chroniclers of events, he complains that they have failed even to collect the materials out of which history must hereafter be elaborated; and with an apparently full consciousness of the appalling vastness of this undertaking, Mr. Buckle boldly enters on the task of himself writing history 'scientifically.' Admiring his courage we heartily wish him 'God speed,' trusting that he may not have over-estimated his forces, that before commencing to build he counted the cost, and that this volume may not be destined to swell the list of "Historical Fragments."

Our criticism shall not follow him far even into this introductory portion of the work, but confining our attention almost exclusively to its earlier chapters—in which however the ground plan of the structure is sketched out—we shall briefly analyse some of the most striking features as there developed, and dwelling more at length on the application to British India of the theories and hypotheses advanced, shall close our examination with a few critical remarks on what we conceive to be Mr. Buckle's shortcomings.

Although not ostensibly set forth in the work itself, we believe that the initial conception, the thought which underlay

Mr. Buckle's earliest sketch of his views on the subject of scientific history (the history of civilization, or of social philosophy) is one which has forced itself on the attention, and occupied the minds of many of the ablest men of our times, namely the limits of speculation, the fixing of the boundaries which *legitimately* separate the fields of research from the province of Metaphysics, of Theology, and from that of inductive science, respectively. In savage life each man does every thing for himself; erects his dwelling, builds his boat, constructs his weapons, of war or for the chase, and devotes his leisure to the embellishment of the ugly image he worships, or of the grotesque garments he wears. The first step in advance is a division of labor, a recognition of specialties.

Now our intellectual progress follows a precisely parallel track. The wise man of ancient times was supposed to know every thing, and in truth the great men of the days of the infancy of science did spread their immense energies over wonderfully extended areas of research; the danger of superficiality was however at all times so great, that many of them were, perhaps involuntarily, led into charlatanary, and pretence. The pretence was naturally greatest where the excuse for its existence was least; we need not however go far back in search of counterfeit omniscience. Even in our own day, wherever crude ideas on the subject of the nature of scientific knowledge prevail, examples abound: nor are ignorance on the part of the admirers, and false pretension on that of the admired, by any means necessary conditions for the development of very strange misconceptions. For example, many men to this day in India, believe in doctors. A short time ago it was universally accepted, even by men full of intelligence and possessed of great information on many subjects, that a doctor naturally knew every thing. Government seems to have shared this impression; we have indeed heard of a distinguished member of the medical service who was supposed by the authorities to be a botanist and was officially trusted with duties the discharge of which demanded a knowledge of scientific botany: but besides this it was assumed that he was master of a very special branch of botanical science, which concerns itself with timbers and forest trees: nor was this all, for he was also thought to be a geologist, and accordingly very important duties were confided to him which could not be discharged rightly save by one possessed of great knowledge and practical familiarity with that science.

Medical knowledge was not however supposed to have languished, or lost ought by the neglect implied by the time assumed to have been devoted to the study of Botany and Geology,



for this officer was subsequently put in charge of the lives and limbs of Her Majesty's servants: so far indeed from having suffered from neglect, or pined in the shade of more favored pursuits, it soon became apparent that Government had reason to suppose that a special and most important branch of Medical Science had been specifically cultivated by this Encyclopædic Savant, for investigations of the gravest moment, connected, as well as we remember, with sanitary considerations as applied to military buildings, were entrusted to his care. A case of this kind, which however is quite a typical one in India, can only occur where ideas entertained on the nature of scientific knowledge are crude. Meanwhile in Europe the advantages of the sub-division of labor, have long been so well understood, that now in this very science of medicine, for example, every man of real eminence devotes his attention to some particular province of the immense field opened by his profession: each organ, each tissue, each function is the work of a life. Take geology; in the place of the men who in days gone by produced "Theories of the Earth," and who knew all that was known of what was not then a science, we now have a mathematician scrutinizing the geological data furnished by a physical explorer; a microscopist calling in chemistry to determine for him the contents of minute vesicles in crystals, and extorting thence evidence to elucidate the structure of rock masses. The botanical geologist, the anatomist follow a similar course. But it would be wasting space to insist more fully on the extent to which the limitation of the several fields of knowledge has become a recognized condition of success in every scientific pursuit; the fact is undoubted, and is precisely similar to what occurs in the case of the simple arts of life. An analogous though not exactly similar step has for some years engaged much attention and been treated of by some of our most distinguished writers, we mean the recognition of the boundaries separating the legitimate domains of Theology, Metaphysics, and the inductive Sciences. Every one who has for a moment thought on the subject will acknowledge that these boundaries have been on all sides ignored: we have seen theology, on the one side, claiming universal dominion, and assuming to dictate without appeal in every department, her ambitious doctors impairing her real authority by untenable pretence: placing the inspiration of the sacred writings in antagonism with the facts of physics and astronomy, in past times, and within our own, opposing the same authority to the facts of Geological Science; and even now a cry is raised against the orthodoxy of a naturalist who investigates the tangled question of the mutability of species.

Nor has all the fault been on the side of Theology: if she has been unwilling to retire within her lawful confines, and abandon fair territories long held by prescriptive right, Philosophy has too often overstepped her own borders, and invaded the proper dominions of her neighbour. Long claimed as a vassal, called the "handmaid" of her imperious rival, once almost proud to hold even that subordinate position, she has since rebelled, and not content with asserting her true independence, has made the most unjustifiable raids on the grounds of her oppressor. If then the vulgar pretensions of self-seeking bigotry refuses even now to acknowledge that the earth moves round, we can readily point to an equally vulgar pretentiousness, and to bigotry no less narrow, in the essays on 'first causes' generally, on the 'origin of evil' and such subjects, in which a shallow logic, has, by the exhibition of its imbecility, handed to Theology her most formidable engine for the retardation of knowledge. Nor are shallowness and imbecility alone guilty of leading inductive reasoning beyond her proper field of action. If facts have rushed in where wisdom should have declined to tread, wisdom has unhappily not always herself exercised a just self-restraint, for it would be a contradiction in terms to stigmatize as wanting in any intellectual qualification, the many great men who have erred in this way; but whatever their merits, those who have done so are no less guilty than are the many equally able theologians who have dictated to the natural sciences on the strength of their own interpretations of the sacred writings.

We repeat that one of the most marked tendencies of the writings of our greatest men, on all sides, and of whatever prepossessions, has of late been an endeavour to fix and a determination to respect their limits; and we believe that the application to sociology and philosophical history of this endeavour to fix, and this determination to respect, the true limits of the legitimate field of inductive science, is the greatest and most important service which our author has rendered to his generation, and that whereon his soundest claims to fame will rest. We have thought it desirable to preface our analysis of Mr. Buckle's work with a clear statement of the above conclusion, we shall now proceed to follow the track by which (as we conceive) he reached it.

No intelligent student of social science will have carried his researches far without being struck forcibly by the strange facts which statistics unfold: namely the recurrence of events, of whatever kind, under certain conditions, not clearly or directly connected therewith. In some cases, as has so often happened when the statistics of trade and of disease are concerned, he

will be tempted, and often on utterly insufficient grounds, to refer some two facts to the relation of cause and effect respectively, hastily seizing on any solution of his problem, and forgetting the multitude of disturbing causes which may vitiate his conclusions; in other cases however the result of his observations will be different: when for instance he finds himself face to face with the figures enumerating the facts of crime, he will often stand aghast at some ultimate conclusions to which they seem to point, and it may be long ere he be driven to satisfy himself with the conviction that though men are actuated by countless complications of motives, there is in the numerical recurrence of certain combinations of these motives, a system uncomprehended, unanalysed, but all powerful, a systematic action analogous, if not similar to that systematic action which when traceable in the phenomena of inanimate nature is called "a NATURAL LAW."

We will then suppose our student to have applied the canon of the limits of inductive reasoning, to have satisfied himself that he may, in his statistical labors, legitimately neglect all reference to theological and metaphysical theories, to have thus escaped from the iron grasp of the twin giants PREDESTINATION and FREE-WILL, and to proceed on his way feeling, instead of the quaking swamp of the Slough of Despond, the firm ground of rational experiment once more under his feet. He accepts the proposition that "all human action is regulated by *Natural laws*" on the ground that the only necessary condition of the possible determination of such natural laws, is the existence of facts of observation, and which can be submitted to comparison and calculation, and that human actions satisfy this condition—he returns then to his statistical labors and we shall now with Mr. Buckle's assistance point to some of the data, and some of the conclusions thereby suggested, which strengthen and establish by definite evidence the above proposition.

The regularity with which numbers recur in the statistics of crime is notorious to most people of education: but the more one reflects on the circumstances of the case, the more unaccountable it seems, that such a crime as murder should be subject to this regularity. Murder of all crimes would *à priori* seem least amenable to average causes, it ought to be the most purely accidental of occurrences: yet not only do the usual numbers reappear regularly for the same areas and in given times, but even the instruments with which murders are committed recur with the most startling monotony. (p. 22.) Statistics indeed have established the very curious fact that, although both fluctuate, crime varies less than disease in a given time and space: for example, the number of persons accused of crime

in France from 1826 to 1844 was, by a singular coincidence, about equal to the number of male deaths in Paris during the same period: the difference being that the fluctuations in the annual number for crime were less than in those for mortality. (See "*Quetelet sur l'homme*." Vol. I., p. 7, and Vol. II., p. 164.)

But if even murder submits to the laws of average numbers, suicide at least ought to be the most capricious of events; in fact however suicide is a monotonously regular product of the state of society: (p. 25-26) for example, in London, where the accumulation of the chances must be enormous, the annual average is 240 during a long series of years; the greatest divergence being a maximum of 266 in the year 1846 and a minimum of 213 in 1849. The statistics of marriage give similar results: and whatever we may think of such considerations as temper and caprice as influencing marriages in detail, the only step we have made towards a practical solution of the problem of causes in the aggregate, is the established connection between the number of marriages and the price of corn. The regularity of recurrent numbers in statistical tables is not however confined to serious subjects such as marriage and murder, the most trivial events are subject to a similarly dull uniformity of recurrence. Much ridicule has been heaped on statistical research in consequence of the so-called triviality of some of its pursuits. A laugh is always at the command of one who seeks to raise it by calling the student of statistics a man who can tell you the percentage of one-eyed men who also wear white hats. It would appear more reasonable however to assert that the really pertinent question is not the triviality but the relevancy of a fact: nothing, however trivial, is worthless which establishes a conclusion capable of throwing light on such a subject as the regularity of human actions. In spite then of the slight importance intrinsically attaching to the fact itself it is well worth while to quote the post office returns to show that the proportion of undirected letters posted within a given time, to the whole number posted within that time is constant: this strange fact has been established beyond question by the post office returns of both France and England.

The fisherman living on the sea shore sees the tide rise and fall: the regularity of the recurrence of the phenomenon even establishes in his mind a conviction that on any given day he can confidently predict the coming ebb and flow, and he accordingly acts on the assumed stability of nature. To his more thoughtful neighbour, watching the same facts another conclusion is superadded, namely that what he observes is the result



of antecedents themselves constant, that the stability of the phenomena, the regularity of the recurrence of the event, is the effect of the fixity of the causes which produce them : and hence the first belief in the existence of what we call *natural laws*.

Now in the case of statistics the first step was taken long ago. The fisherman's faith in to-morrow's high water, the belief that what has happened a considerable number of times, will often happen again, has for ages been of daily application. A London tradesman purchases the good-will of a business after inspecting the books of the establishment, simply on the strength of his belief that about as many persons, who want to buy what he wishes to sell, will, in years to come, pass along some particular street, as had done so in years past : he will scrupulously satisfy himself that the books have been honestly kept, and will carefully enquire whether some new thoroughfare may not possibly disturb the continuance of the traffic, on the normal stability of which he never for a moment hesitates to calculate ; every Railway bill, every canal Bill presented to Parliament, is based on a precisely similar assumption.

When however a man ventures to take the next step, and asserts that in the case of statistical figures, as in the case of the tide table, or in the case of the daily rising of the river, we are entitled not only to expect a recurrence of the phenomena, but also to believe that these depend on causes whose action is regulated by natural laws, alarmed orthodoxy takes fright : she has ceased to pray for divine protection from the fiery tail of the comet, because we have learned something of astronomical science, but she still prays for rain, in as much as atmospheric phenomena and their laws are still little understood : she accepts in the matter of tides the formulas of attraction, because they are susceptible of demonstration, but anathematizes the application of analogous reasoning to analogous data, where our ignorance furnishes her with a temporary excuse for halting ; driven from many an outwork she retires with her face to the enemy and advancing truth ever finds her prepared to defend to the last each patch of debatable ground—here then accordingly she takes her stand. Predestination or free-will, as the fashion of the place and time may suggest, are called to the front, and are doing their duty just now most efficiently. Why indeed should we expect that dogmatism, jealous of her long usurped power, should at once yield to the quiet impartiality of the inductive spirit, that domain in which she has dictated her laws ? Long used to enforce her mandates with all the weight of divine sanction (a sanction which she has bestowed in turn on almost every conceivable act, as well as dogma) she could not be expected to hear weekly the announcement that she had no

longer any right to interfere, that battles and damnable heresies were as much the effects of causes as are thunderstorms and the potato rot, and that inductive research is legitimately applicable to the causes of all such phenomena alike.

We have however already supposed that our student has made his escape from the twin giants, we shall farther assume that even when hounded on by orthodox dogmatism they have left him unscathed, and we accordingly invite him to subscribe to Mr. Buckle's fundamental proposition as he himself puts it:—"when 'we perform an action it is in consequence of some motive or 'motives: that these result from some antecedents: and that 'therefore, if we were acquainted with the whole of the 'antecedents, and with all the laws of their movements, we 'could with unerring certainty predict the whole of their im-'mediate results."

Of the whole of the antecedents, and of all the laws of their movements, we are in nearly complete ignorance; the above conditional proposition is nevertheless true. It may perhaps be superfluous to remind the reader that the power of prediction spoken of is the highest aim of every inductive science, or in other words the ambition of inductive science is to arrive, by her own inductive process, at generalizations high enough, and therefore of sufficiently wide application to be used deductively for the purpose of predicting phenomena. The grandest triumph yet achieved by inductive science of this kind was perhaps Le Verrier's prediction, by calculation, of the time and place of the appearance of a new star. Astronomy alone, the most advanced of the inductive sciences, is competent to perform such a feat; but even this youngest sister, the newly born sociology, just claiming to be a science, may in virtue of that claim boldly state (as in the passage quoted) the scope of her aims, and our author is the first, as far as we know, to advance them clearly and in their true proportions. Distant indeed may be the day when we can hope for the conditions to be even partially fulfilled; instead of having arrived at high generalizations social science is now at work to determine which of her few theories can rightly claim to have risen above the state of empyric dogmas. Mr. Buckle indeed believes that events, acknowledged as the consequents of ascertainable antecedents, are even now determinable to an extent hitherto unappreciated: and though, in spite of all his enthusiasm he rejects the idea that his pet science is yet ripe for any of the higher uses of inductive philosophy, he yet holds that as an engine of enquiry she has vast power of throwing light on the philosophical study of history. Although then we believe it to be clearly proved that such a science exists, and is a real branch of inductive research, and that the

phenomena of which it takes cognizance, being guided by natural laws, will when observed, give the clue to the discovery of those laws, as has happened in so many other cases. We must remember that no generalization of any considerable width of applicability has as yet been reached, and that every proposition advanced may be suspected of empiricism; that it behoves us closely to watch that none of these be taken in a wider sense than is its due, or be supposed to prove more than it really implies; that in proportion as statistical generalizations are empirical they must be rigidly treated as facts for the particular conditions of the data from whence they have been deduced, and never erected into Laws of Society as such.

Our author must be submitted to this surveillance: his present work announces itself as an attempt to write history scientifically; he promises that, in the conclusion of the work, (half of the introduction to which we have before us) he will use deductively, in discussing the prospects of English civilization, formulæ, which he will have inductively derived from his analysis of observations on the phenomena of civilization historically considered. We shall not now stop to enquire how far the science of sociology is in a condition to admit of any very considerable success attending such an attempt: it is sufficient for us that, if we keep in mind the cautions just suggested, nothing but good can come of the enterprize and we thus proceed to Mr. Buckle's second proposition.

His first (as we have seen) is that "all human action is regulated by natural laws," which is merely equivalent to say that sociology is an inductive science; his second is that "The laws of human action must be sought either in the action of external phenomena on the mind, or in the action of the mind on external phenomena"—human action being indeed "merely the product of the collision between internal and external phenomena" (p. 32). Whatever be the prospect of his plan we can here at least follow Mr. Buckle with pleasure and profit: even if he be destined to fail in raising his science to the eminence on which he hopes to place her, he at all events works among his elementary materials, with a zeal, a skill and good faith which make his work one of the most fascinating of historical essays.

The action of external nature on man, as earliest discernable, is naturally first discussed: its influence must have made itself felt from the very first existence of society: the principal of these external influences are "climate, food, soil and the general aspects of nature." In treating of them Mr. Buckle groups the first three together, and with, as we think, admirable

sagacity, avoids all attempts at any artificial classification of phenomena practically inseparable ; instead of endeavouring to analyze the causes, he submits to his scrutiny the effects produced on man by these powers of natures, by soil, food and climate ; of these he distinguishes two, 1st a secondary action of external physical causes on man, as when great fertility of soil produces a very abundant crop, that is, a relation of the soil to its produce, the action of one part of external natures on another (p. 46) and its mediate or indirect influence on man. 2nd, a primary action of external physical causes on man, as when a happier climate encourages more successful labor, that is, a relation between the climate and the laborer, or a direct operation of external nature on man.

The former of these two modes of operation of external nature on man, has always first exercised its influence, it has formed the basis of all the older civilizations, its results have been enormous, vast as the powers of nature on which it rests, but if colossal they have, like their origin, been stationary and not susceptible of any high ulterior development. The latter, on the other hand, takes longer to show itself : it is a direct action on man's powers ; on the nature of those powers then its results depend ; instead of being stationary these are elastic, and to the limits of their elasticity we have yet to reach : the newer (for instance the European,) civilizations spring from this source and it is for this reason, fundamentally, that the grand old civilizations of Asia, Africa, &c., just reached a point to which they rapidly attained, but which none of them ever has passed : while the more tardy civilization of Europe, slower to appear, and slower to progress is still growing, though already far a-head of its tropical rivals.

The question of the accumulation of wealth is the first which presents itself : it is the elementary condition indispensable to all civilization. Mr. Buckle gives an able statement of the facts (according to our present knowledge) of the chemical and physiological character of food, for which however interesting and important we must refer to the volume itself ; he shows that where the excess of the food produced over the requirements of those who produce it is greatest, there the earliest accumulation of wealth takes place : the inhabitants of such countries as the valley of the Ganges, and the valley of the Nile, require less food than the inhabitants of Europe, and not only do they require less food, but their food is far more easily produced, (p. 53) and hence the first accumulation of wealth, that is the earliest civilization, obtains there, and in similarly circumstanced places.



The problem of the distribution of wealth commences of course to be practically solved synchronously with its accumulation, and its importance cannot be over-rated. In an advanced stage of society the phenomena of the distribution of wealth are extremely complex, but in the early stage they are, like its accumulation, regulated entirely by external physical laws: and so absolute, and so irresistible have these laws been that "they have kept the vast majority of the inhabitants of the 'fairest portions of the globe in a condition of constant and inextricable poverty." (p. 47). In as much as the distribution of wealth is in fact the distribution of power, these physical causes have dictated the conditions of the social and political inequalities which form the key to the history of civilized countries.

Mr. Buckle proceeds to point out that wealth, that is wages, profits, interest taken together may be considered as a fund to be divided between employers and employed. Wages, that is the price of labor, like the price of anything else vary with the demand: that is to say supposing the above *fund* to remain constant the amount receivable by each laborer is a question of population. The increase of the wage fund is a question of the accumulation of wealth, and as we are here dealing with the distribution of wealth we take it as constant. We may now proceed to seek to discover the causes which, tending to encourage a rapid increase of population, overstock the labor market, and keep the average rate of wages at a very low standard. "If two countries, equal in all other respects, differ only in this: 'that in one the national food is cheap and abundant, in the 'other scarce and dear, the population of the former country will 'inevitably increase more rapidly than the population of the 'latter—the average rate of wages will be lower in the former 'than in the latter, simply because the labor market will be 'more amply stocked." An enquiry then, into the physical laws of food is the foundation of the only possible solution of the problem of wages: that is the problem of the distribution of wealth. As we have seen above, the inhabitants of hot countries require less, and can grow more food than the inhabitants of cold ones, and hence (p. 59) "there is a strong and constant tendency in hot countries for wages to be low, and in cold ones for 'them to be high." Thus considering the laws of the distribution of wealth we find that the action of those physical causes which gave birth to the earliest civilizations, also impressed upon them their social and political peculiarities, dependent as these are on the inequalities of the distribution of wealth.

All the ancient civilizations were, we accordingly find, seated

in hot countries. In Europe, for the first time, one arose in a colder climate. Here the operation of the laws above indicated rendered the reward of labor greater, the distribution of wealth therefore less unequal: and since the conditions of growth and advance were in this case connected with the elastic element of man's mind, instead of resulting from the inelastic powers of nature, as happened with the older civilizations of Asia, Africa, &c., a development was attained unlike, and scarcely even analogous to any thing that had previously existed: differing in fact in the most essential attribute, for a living, growing, germ, had taken the place of inevitable stagnation.

The one exceptional instance of a European nation possessing a very cheap national food is found in Ireland, and how absolutely the law asserted itself is easily shown. (P. 60). The best experiments go to prove that "one acre of average land with potatoes will support twice as many persons as the same quantity of land sown with wheat," according to this law then we should expect to find an increase of population twice as rapid, all other things being tolerably equal, in a potato growing, compared with a wheat growing country; accordingly we do find that up to the time of the Irish famine the returns actually give three per cent. as the increase of the Irish population, one and a half being the rate for England in equal periods, and the direct and necessary result was striking, "in England the increase is somewhat too rapid: and the labor market being overstocked the working classes are not sufficiently paid, but their condition is one of sumptuous splendour compared to that in which, only a few years since, the Irish were forced to live."

In short then (p. 62). "the food of a people determines the increase of its numbers: the increase of its numbers the rate of wages:" The rate of wages being low implies an unequal distribution of wealth, that is, an unequal distribution of political power and social influence, and thus the normal average relation between the upper and lower classes depends on the operation of physical causes.

Mr. Buckle selects Hindustan as an example of a country which has for the longest period possessed the highest civilization of which we have any record. Its development has always been confined to those rich tracts where wealth could readily be accumulated: this accumulation was rendered easy by the great fertility of the soil, and the rapid reproductions of the national food, specially of rice. (p. 64.) He shows that thus there has arisen in India that unequal distribution of wealth which the conditions naturally tended to encourage. Records two thousand years old prove that at that distant period a state of things similar to

what we see existed, and warrant the conclusion that affairs were in the same condition since the accumulation of wealth first fairly began: the upper classes enormously rich, the lower miserably poor: those who created the wealth receiving a minimum share of it, the rest absorbed as rent or profit by others: and as always follows, wealth, after intellect, being the most permanent source of power, the inequality of wealth was accompanied by a corresponding inequality of social and political power, (p. 66.)

"It is not therefore surprising that from the earliest period to which our knowledge of India extends an immense majority of the people, pinched by the most galling poverty, and just living from hand to mouth, should always have remained in a state of stupid debasement, broken by incessant misfortune, crouching before their superiors in abject submission and only fit either to be slaves themselves or to be led to battle to make slaves of other."

He proceeds to make an attempt at estimating the rate of wages. The plan of averaging payments is rejected on account of the fluctuations in value rendering such a plan worthless. Since however the actual produce of a country must all be divided into wages, interest, rent and profit, and since we can ascertain the rates of interest and the proportion of rent for great periods, a simple process of elimination gives us the wages, which are the residue after rent, profit and interest have been paid. The Institutes of Menu fix interest at a maximum of sixty per cent. and a minimum of fifteen per cent. Mill states the average interest in 1810 to have been from thirty-six to sixty per cent.

Rent is next considered. In England and Scotland (p. 68,) the rent paid by the cultivator for the use of the land averages one-fourth of the gross produce: in France one-third is the proportion: in the United States it is very small, often only nominal. "In India the legal rent, i. e. the lowest rate recognized by law and the usage of the country is one-half the produce," and often much more, as several authorities are cited to prove. Ram Mohun Roy speaking of Bengal, in his "*Judicial and Revenue Systems of India*," (at p. 69,) says "in an abundant season, when the price of corn is low, the sale of their whole crop is required to meet the demand of the landholder, leaving little or nothing for seed or subsistence to the laborer or his family." Now from these facts we may conclude that rent and interest being always very high, and interest necessarily varying with profits, and thus giving us an estimate of this also, wages cannot but have been proportionally low: the former can rise alone at the expense of the last.

These conclusions can afford to stand alone but it is easy in conformation of them to appeal to the well-known fact that people in India are still obliged to work for a pittance barely sufficient to support the exigencies of life. As wealth gives power and poverty ensures contempt, as "there is no instance on record of any class possessing power without abusing it, we may easily understand how it was that the people of India, condemned to poverty by the physical laws of their climate should have fallen into a degradation from which they have never been able to escape."

It would we conceive be gratuitous to produce instances or proofs of this degradation, which must be superfluous to readers of this *Review*. Three generations of freedom from at least the more overt violence of the truly hellish tyranny of their Bramins have left them what we are all familiar with. What they were when tongues used to be slit for a disrespectful word, boiling oil poured into the ear that dared listen to the hallowed accent, when a Bramin paid the same penalty for murdering a man as for killing a crow, we may conceive if we can. "Abject eternal slavery was the state to which they were doomed by irresistible physical laws." "Their only business was to labor, their only duty to obey. Their annals furnish no instance of their having turned on their rulers, no war of classes, no popular insurrection, not even a popular conspiracy—all changes from above, none from below—there have been wars of kings, and of dynasties, revolutions in government, revolutions in the palace, revolutions in the throne, no revolutions among the people."

We shall not follow Mr. Buckle farther into his work, as we promised, we shall stop where he turns away from Hindustan to pursue his subject elsewhere. Such then are his views of the foundations of history, such the point of view from which he contemplates human affairs. He may claim our respectful attention for his logical accumen, his great research, and for the philosophical impartiality of his tone of thought: his theories are based on the broadest principles and he appeals to the most potent and widely acting causes: he also points to facts so notorious and so interesting to us, that the study of what he advances is sure to present some attractions to every thoughtful Indian reader.

Perhaps the first consideration which a careful perusal of the work will suggest to an Englishman in India will be the great difficulty of his position here. We do not intend to enlarge on this subject in its primary form. Mr. H. Pratt, in the pamphlet whose title we have placed at the head of this article, tersely and



ably sets this forth. "English officials in India.....cannot see ' from the point of view occupied by the masses.....They may ' think it an exaggeration to speak of our rule in India as neces- ' sarily involving serious wrong and error. If so, let them call to ' mind the degraded condition of the Madras rural population and ' the wide-spread alienation of feeling produced by the treatment ' of the talookdars of the N. W. Provinces: the defects in the ' perpetual settlement of Lower Bengal: the practical denial of ' justice arising out of the expense and delay attending all suits ' in the civil courts: the objectionable mode of taking and re- ' cording evidence in our criminal courts; and the infamous state ' of the police,.....we do not know the people and they do not ' know us." (p. 9) Forcible as this is, no one acquainted with the subject will think it overstates the difficulties of the position: we are not now concerned with details however, nor are we competent to deal with the question suggested in the above passage: we look from a different point of view, namely one including the European subject of the Government of India, as well as the rulers themselves, and, in presence of all the difficulties of the case, we may suppose the man to sum up for himself his duties, thus:—as an individual, while pursuing his own legitimate interests, rigidly to avoid injuring those into juxtaposition with whom, he has, for his own objects, and of his own free will, brought himself: as far as he is concerned in ruling, to encourage whatever he believes to be for the advantage, present, or prospective, of those into whose country he has thrust himself. That the latter is consistent with at least the professions of our rulers, we extract from Mr. Pratt's pamphlet (p. 8) some of the evidence given before a Parliamentary Committee by Sir F. Halliday to show. "I go the full length of saying ' that I believe our mission in India is to qualify them (the natives of the country) for governing themselves. I say that the ' measures of the Government for a number of years past have ' been advisedly directed to so qualifying them, without the ' slightest reference to any remote consequences upon our administration." We believe this passage is a perfectly fair sketch of the feelings of the class of which the speaker is a worthy member, and they are entitled to high respect. We cannot however pass them by without confessing our profound distrust of people who have a *mission*: our reasons for this will be more fully developed hereafter, and of all missions one of a political tendency is perhaps the most dangerous. Firmly believing that *politics* "so ' far from being a science, is one of the most backward of the ' arts" (Buckle) we maintain that the duties of Government should be directed to the remedying of evils, the removal of the

most salient obstructions, that the minimum of interference is equivalent to the maximum of good legislation, and that legislating on principles, a thing to which honest statesmen, unfortunate enough to have a mission, are specially prone, is inevitably pregnant with the most serious risk, if not certainly mischievous: and for this simple reason that there *are no ascertained principles*, that the science which may some day elaborate such is at present in its infancy, and that therefore, those who desire to legislate on principles, really legislate on prejudices instead: 'the true wisdom then of rulers consists in adapting temporary expedients, to temporary difficulties as they may arise.'

A man of very far less ability than Sir F. Halliday possesses, but who has not been exposed to the temptation which the possession of power suggests in the shape of a "mission" will readily accept, if indeed he needs, the lessons which Mr. Buckle ably enforces on the subject of the *growth of civilization*. When our author insists on *self-elaboration* of national life as the *only real* advance, when he dwells on the disheartening text of the utterly transient character of the results produced by individual effort, we involuntarily recollect the grotesque effect of the mixture of European political ideas with those of Hindustanis, and the curious results, displayed for example in Calcutta, of a century of intercourse of European and Bengali.

If then, actuated by the motives above supposed, namely the determination to avoid injustice in our private capacity, and to encourage politically whatever we believe to be for the real good of Hindustan, we deliberately enquire after the means, and, with reference to the latter part of our duties, ask what we ought to do, the answer is one not very pleasant we conceive to any one, but utterly repugnant to the ideas of a man with a mission. If we take Mr. Buckle for a guide he will say you can do absolutely nothing *positively*, and even *negatively* but little.

Even in a self-governed country, where the ruling men must, from the circumstances of the case, have at command many means for ascertaining the true state of the conditions, the maxim above stated holds, and the minimum of interference means the maximum of good government. How much more is this the case here in India, where the ruling men are foreigners, and in the state of ignorance concerning those they govern so ably described by Mr. Pratt? May we not then subscribe to Mr. Buckle's conclusion that every law is, *pro tanto*, an evil and advisable only as the lesser of two, and that the direct influence of European civilization on that of Hindustan can produce a beneficial result solely by addressing itself to encouraging the

development of natural tendencies, and religiously abstaining from forcing into existence abnormal products.

As an instance of what we in practice mean by thus insisting on the inexpediency of tying bunches of flowers to dry branches, instead of patiently watering and manuring the hidden roots of the sapling, we shall select an example from the history of public instruction in India: and in fixing on the Medical College we have the satisfaction of according unmixed praise. It has met a most crying want which our exotic position in India created. Surgeons sufficiently instructed in the art (if not in the science) of medicines have been by its means made available where they could not, without its aid, have been obtained, much suffering has been alleviated, many valuable lives saved: to use the simile above suggested, dead branches have been not only decked with bouquets, but also hung with sweet and wholesome fruit, their aspect has been picturesque and their taste refreshing: in common with many abnormal products it serves an excellent purpose. What we however have to do with at present is the ulterior result; this is generally assumed to be the spread of medical knowledge, in the sense in which similar institutions at home advance that desirable object, and here we take issue: medical education in Europe is the natural product of the requirements of the people among whom it exists, here it is the abnormal result of artificial stimulants: there it is the fruit of the branches on which it grows, here the exotic fastens on to a dry bough. The result then of medical education here ought not to be similar, or even analogous, to that of medical education in Europe. Suppose the vitality of our educational system tested by the withdrawal of the fostering care under which it has assumed its present aspect, suppose British influence removed, does any one seriously believe that in 20 years the *direct* results of the instruction afforded by the Medical College would be appreciable in the state of medical knowledge throughout Hindustan? For ourselves we think not; results indeed there would be, but they would be *indirect* results; they would exercise a most important influence in the land, but this would have little perceptible connection with the forced product now brought forward to meet an artificial demand. All that is implanted of this medical knowledge would vanish like the mushroom growth it is, but it would leave behind (not knowledge but) DOUBT: old ignorance might perhaps smother imported information, but old faith could never be again what it was: scepticism, the first origin of all real knowledge, (as contrasted with information, or superficial acquirement,) would, we conceive, strike root; it was not contem-

plated, still less sought, and cultivated, but being naturally evolved out of the conditions, would naturally grow.

A still more striking example of what we mean is suggested by the history of Missionary Enterprise. That Missionary is more sanguine than ourselves who believes that, if the British power in India were passed away, 20 years hence a trace of the Christianity *he teaches* with such noble and patient perseverance, would be left. In this case again we have the dead dry branch sustained by extraneous aid, galvanised into a spurious vitality by external agencies: the work, good in itself, and admirable in the highest degree when considered from the point of view of the motives and the efforts of its promoters and agents, but really effecting not what these intend and believe it should bring about, but a widely different result, and in this instance one at which the workers would stand aghast, and from the suspicion of which they would shrink back in dismay. Scepticism to wit: their well meant endeavours to produce that hopelessly abnormal result, a Hindu Christianity, has, even already resulted, principally by means of their admirable schools, in the spread of, not a creed, but unbelief, and this unbelief is in reality as necessary a precursor to the existence of their creed as is the preparation of a soil for the reception of a crop. To take the simile suggested by agriculture:—these devoted and zealous husbandmen go forth laden with their good seed, but they scatter it on ground already rank with pestilent weeds: it is choked, and withers ere it grows. Happily however along with their seed there are mixed, in spite of all their care to exclude them, some grains of a noxious substance, destructive to all vegetable growth; they sow broadcast, the fate of their seed we have stated; its noxious accompaniment however infallibly does its work of demolition; blank spaces here and there appear in the dense growth of the deadly jungle; the filthy weeds pale, are less succulent, even in a few places wither, never to rise more on that spot. The problem of what is to replace them is only postponed: the blank spots are moreover still few, but they spread, and although their very existence may now be readily overlooked, and themselves be overshadowed by the surrounding foliage, they are there, and nothing can ever reproduce on their surface the growth they once sustained.

Such we believe to be the result of Missionary labours in Hindustan: their Christianity is as ephemeral as the presence of themselves is accidental, but the real, because the natural, result of their teaching is as stable as the constitution of the human mind. The popular creed is the formal expression of the national religious feeling: and in as much as Christianity



does not embody the religious aspirations of any section of the inhabitants of Hindustan it is simply impossible that it should for the present be the creed even of a sect. When the national character shall have become suited to the doctrines of Christianity these may spread, not till then. "If a religion suit a people, it needs no protection, if it does not, no protection can give it permanence." (P. 245.)

This last proposition is dwelt on by Mr. Buckle at some length and supported by a mass of evidence. He shows for instance how a noble monotheism, nobly taught to the Hebrews, stringently enforced by every striking and effective sanction, failed of acceptance: being unsuited to it, they *could not* adopt it; so in the face of menaces the most awful, punishments the most severe, indulgent forgiveness and tender mercy the most winning, they multiplied their golden calves and brazen serpents until their gods swarmed on every high hill and under every green tree. Time went on, their mental growth, however slightly, progressed, and they became intellectually fitted for their creed; they accordingly then accepted, and thoroughly assimilated it, at a time too when the sanction of rewards and punishments, the warning threats and soothing promises had ceased to give it their support; (p. 236.) To take a modern instance:—he sketches the condition of Protestant Scotland, and Sweden, on the one side, and of Roman Catholic France on the other: intolerance and superstition he says may without injustice be considered as the characteristics of countries where Roman Christianity flourishes, while comparative liberality as a rule accompanies the reformed faith; although true in the majority of cases this rule does not always hold: for whenever we find a case where accidental circumstances have checked the natural tendency of a nation to possess itself of a religion in harmony with its intellectual development, there we also find that the professed religion remains itself only in name: thus in Scotland and Sweden a religion calling itself Protestant is as intolerant and superstitious as that called Popery in Spain or Italy, while in Roman Catholic France there exists a freedom from intolerance and superstition as great as is to be met anywhere else in Christendom. (P. 240-245).

The *Calcutta Review*, Vol. II. (1844) contains a sketch of the History of the Jesuit Missions of South India, which affords strong confirmation of our views on this subject, and furnishes an apt illustration of what Mr. Buckle sets forth. It is well worth the perusal of the student of Hypothetical Hindoo Christianity. The writer holds up the followers of

Loyala to our just scorn, and they truly stand in the most absolute contrast to the Missionaries of our own purer faith but we fail to perceive any reason whatever for assuming that protestant Christianity, if left to itself for a generation, among the inhabitants of Hindustan, would maintain a greater purity either of doctrine, or form, than the rival Christianity of Xavier did in the case described: just as the protestantism of Scotland is fanatical and superstitious so would the protestantism of Hindustan become imaginative and sensual.

But while we conceive it to be hopelessly Eutopian to expect that any considerable *direct* result can now be secured by religious propagandism, or by the teaching of our advanced schools, we firmly believe that the indirect good they do is very great: they spread *doubt*, and wherever they touch this mark is left behind. Which of the Alumni of the Medical College cares for the incantations of the village Hakeem over his drugs? What student of the higher schools but sneers at the geography his father believed in? And is it in human nature that *this* feeling should not spread? in it we have the real initial step in the road to progress; if their teachers were gone the next generation might not, we believe certainly would not, hear lectures on systematic botany and comparative anatomy, or even on physical geography, but neither could they return to the standard of two generations back (i. e. the standard of all former generations). Progress it is true might be very slow, but it would be progress: problems would be worked out, the solutions of which were learned by rote by the grandfather of these real laborers: that path in short, would be trodden, which always have been, and ever will be passed over by every people on its way towards civilization. Thus too with religion: the indirect action of Christianity would, most certainly we believe, render ancient Hinduism simply impossible; in alliance with knowledge, its influence would be immense. The systematic religion of the country might, probably would, retain the names, or even some of the forms of ancient creeds; but as a greater amount of knowledge came to be assimilated by the people (instead of, as is now the fate of knowledge, heaped in the heads of a few of them) though the names, and the forms of their creeds might exist, the substances would most certainly change, and the people, once escaped from their present condition, no longer brutal, and debased, brutal debasement would necessarily cease to be the characteristic of their national religion.

Analyzing then the prospect of the history of education and religion as they are introduced into Hindustan by us Europeans, we believe that their real and vital influence is not only less

than it at first seems to be, but is also radically different in kind; nor need we regret this scepticism, product as it here is of the collision between European and Asiatic civilization. Speaking of its spread, in matters of religion, in Europe Mr. Buckle says, "far from our apprehensions being roused by this 'rapidly increasing spirit we ought to do everything in our 'power to encourage that which, though painful to some, is salutary to all, because by it alone can religious bigotry be effectually destroyed." (P. 328.)

We were once told that the spirit of scepticism is by no means a novelty in Hindustan, and both the ancient and modern literature of the country were appealed to as affording evidence that it not only existed, but flourished at remote periods. We speak here of Bengal only. Passages were asserted to abound in which the professors of religion, and even its priests, are ridiculed, and their vices and follies made the subject of laughter; this evidence however, we conceive to be quite at fault, and it may not be altogether useless to point out the distinction which we believe exists between this kind of satire and scepticism. Attacks of this kind on men have never done any good or advanced the cause of truth: the real object ought to be to demonstrate that the vices and crimes of priests are the necessary result of the systems they live under, the natural fruit of priestcraft. Neither Rabelais nor Boccacio were sceptics because they were satirists and so successfully held up to public scorn and ridicule the lives of the priests of their days; no more we suspect were the Bengali writers who put on the stage omnivorous and drunken Bramins as we are informed they have done. The look of the names of Rabelais and Boccacio as we write them support some curious reflections. Although they were after all mere satirists and not philosophical thinkers, the true sceptical movement of the reformation commenced in their times: (Rabelais outlived Luther) and with what result? How slow has after all been the growth, how partial the spread of that great movement: how considerable a portion of Europe was, when it arose, unfitted for its reception: how thoroughly it was trampled down in such countries as soon as it showed itself there: how great a portion of Europe remains even still rank with the superstitions of 400 years ago: how great a portion even of protestant Christendom is now well nigh as slavishly bound in chains which the people have forged for themselves out of a religion of reason and liberty as ever their ancestors were in those of the ancient thralldom. When we reflect that 300 years of growing knowledge and ripening political instinct have resulted in the acceptance by some of our countrymen of the degrading tenets of a Judais-



tic Calvinism, and by others of the miserable puerilities of fantastic ritualism, and then turn to the future of Hindustan, our hopes may well sink low indeed—almost yield place to despair. Have not our educational, our religious, our political propagandism been raising little sandhills in the course of an advancing tide?

We have above pointed out what we consider the legitimate limit of our hopes, and if all our labor has been but throwing up heaps of mossy sand in the tide way, we can at least console ourselves with the reflection that, although the receding wave may not leave behind it any thing even remotely resembling what our plans proposed to build up, the surface will not be exactly what it would have been, had we never worked upon it—some little crooked furrows, some slight inequalities of the surface will mark the place.

British rule in India has been disadvantageously compared with that of preceding dynasties. We have been told that were we gone, heaps of empty beer bottles would be the only monument of our dominion. We may however allow our predecessors to boast their palaces and their tombs, their forts and their aqueducts, faint impress of human action on inert nature, and ourselves appeal to the indelible stamp which we should have fixed on the human element itself. We should have left behind us scepticism, that from which all intellectual activity ever has sprung, and ever will spring, that which has heralded each step in the slow progress of all civilization worth calling by that name. They not only left Hinduism what they found it, socially, morally, and politically, but degraded their own creeds to its level; we have planted a dagger in its heart: not as we conceive by the suppression of female infanticide, and of suttee, or by the encouragement of widow marriage, but by suggesting DOUBT.

Admirable in themselves are such results of British rule, as those we mention above, but they are from without; they are as it were the lopping off of a few of the more salient sprigs and blossoms of this deadly tree; useful and beneficial measures as far as they go, we believe them to be immeasurably inferior in importance to the quiet spread among the Kerani class in Calcutta, and other large cities, of a little useful knowledge, and thoughtfulness and the consequences of these in leavening the mass. Here we have an agent working on the roots of the plant, not on its blossoms, introducing a new element into the sap, allying itself to the process of natural growth. Slight it may be, inappreciably small its results, or even apparently contradictory, still being a natural and indigenous, instead of an external and exotic product, we have the firmest faith that it will



here follow the course which similar phenomena have elsewhere followed: that doubt coming first, will generate enquiry, growing into a search after truth, and slowly but surely ripening into freedom, intellectual, religious, moral, social, political.

Nothing can be more certain than that the system of *Caste* is absolutely inconsistent with the existence of any real civilization of our European kind. Who can count the generations yet to live and die, ere the iron grasp of this tyrant can be shaken off, or even materially relaxed? The enquiry is indeed beyond calculation, the elements are too numerous, and too little understood to be amenable to computation: let us however congratulate ourselves on the sagacity of the late rulers of British India, and on their having ever avoided all attempts at its suppression, would that it were possible to salary every idle Bramin in Hindustan, and give to all others ready opportunities of learning a few simple truths and arts, and facts of nature. Suppose that the English rulers of Ireland had from the time of Cromwell paid the Romish priests, and taught every bog-trotter to read, instead of initiating that fearful system of tyranny and persecution under the blight of which (though it has long ceased to exist) that miserable country still groans. Should we, think you, ever have had manly decency insulted by the contemptible spectacle of a Smith O'Brien or by the driveling criminalities of the recent Popish crusade.

Leaving for the present the subject of education and popular religion and extending our view to the general question of the action of government we find our author thus expressing his views. "The only services which government can render to 'the interests of civilization are to maintain order, prevent the 'strong from oppressing the weak, and adopt certain precautions 'respecting public health." (P. 257-58.) All other duties he would probably describe as negative; thus, when the exigencies of the case necessitate any commercial regulations, he would have them as few and simple as may be, and so on.

If we take this view of the duties of Government, and look forward to the future of British power in India, and the prospects of its influence on the political history of the nations of Hindustan, the survey is scarcely more encouraging than the former one. We must in the first place remember that freedom and self-government never have existed, and never can exist without the spread of knowledge among some considerable portion of the people, without, in short, public opinion. This is a slow operation in all recorded cases, but every attempt at stimulating it into fictitious or premature activity will infallibly retard it, precisely as

the growth of a plant is retarded by a child who digs up the seed, every now and then, to see how it is getting on. To take a practical example, we believe that placing eminent Bengali gentlemen in the Legislative Council would in no way tend to the advance of that spirit from which representative institutions spring. It is no question for us whether such a step might not be a very good one to take; the plan might serve excellent purposes, and be in many ways beneficial: but of this one thing we are perfectly certain, namely that to suppose such an arrangement would "accustom the natives to the ideas of self-government" or would "foster the spirit of representative institutions" is equivalent to mistaking the very elementary conditions necessary to the existence of political life. We believe that the greatest danger at this moment threatening the prospects of the growth of political life in Bengal is the *Protection* which is in store for it at the hands of its present rulers. Thoroughly convinced, as we are, that the object of the ruling men in British India as stated by Sir F. Halliday is to govern for the good of the country, we hold that the relation in which they stand to the development of its political life is pregnant with the gravest dangers to that life: the more honest the effort at protection, the more baneful the result: the more energetic the action, the wider and deeper will the blighting effect extend. The changes have in these late times been remorselessly rung on the word *neutrality* but we must nevertheless at all risks reassert it here, and state our conviction that taken in its most comprehensive sense it lies at the base of every hope for the prosperity of British India; that ruler who shall most rigidly observe it, will most surely advance the cause which his interference might have been intended to promote, but which it would infallibly have in reality retarded.

Mr. Buckle's views on the kind of *Protection*, against which we thus invoke neutrality, are ably developed at considerable length; (pp. 565-570) the causes of its great power in France are dwelt on, and the blighting results of its action indicated; as illustrative of this a contrast is pointed out between the fate of municipal institutions in France; and in England,—when established in England they had grown out of previously existing *rights*: Magna Charta contained important stipulations in favor of "*all classes of freemen*." The Earl of Leicester in his rebellion against Henry III. had issued writs to Burgesses and citizens to elect representatives, thus originating a real House of Commons; the assembly up to that time had been nominated by the Crown and filled with nobles and priests: sub-infeudation had been abolished by the act *Quia Emptores*: copy hold tenure existed, and the rights of yeomanry were jealously guarded;

on such a soil municipal institutions could grow, and self-government was a function already natural to the body of the people. In France on the other hand, no noble had ever allied himself to the popular cause or given representative institutions a chance; such things as yeomanry, citizens, freemen, could not be said to exist, in their stead sub-infeudation survived. When the feudal system crumbled to nothing in both countries, the result in each was as dissimilar as the antecedents were radically different. In England municipal institutions became the strongholds of that popular political power on whose existence their own depended: government was localized in all kinds of ways: symetry was sacrificed to vigor. In France meanwhile, Municipal Charters became a dead letter, they were graciously conceded, granted, given, and were futile and meaningless: they soon collapsed from want of life within and sunk into the centralization elaborated into so imposing structure by Louis XIV., the bane of France under the first Napoleon, the real secret of the possibility of the miserable juggle called universal suffrage under the present ruler, and "whose worst feature is that it supplies a machinery ever ready for the purposes of absolute power." (P. 573) Such is the nature, such some of the results of this protection, which, superseding the activity of those vital powers on whose development all healthy life depends, blights in its fatal shade what it seeks to aid and sustain. Its proximate results are however often very plausible: we have indeed had them lauded of late *ad nauseum*, in the case of the asserted administrative efficiency of despotism; we confine our own attention to pointing out its danger, specially as applied to our own position in India, and are thus led back to the subject of education.

When we see youths paid by the government for learning, and then paid for having learned, we sigh to think that a result so desirable in itself, should be produced at the cost of so much risk of evil consequences: that the prospects of the real and healthy spread of knowledge among the people should be retarded by the best meant intentions to advance its cause. We are far from venturing to condemn as a whole the plan acted on by the government in the matter of education: we acknowledge the weight of the many difficulties in the way of any conceivable plan: we believe in the sincerity and in the ability of those who originated, and of those who worked the existing one: nor have we any plan to propose which we think superior to it, but at the same time we think it no harm to point out what we believe to be its inevitable result. Moreover we should strongly protest against any extension of the protecting element in the existing



system, or its introduction elsewhere: an example of such an attempt is furnished in the pamphlet already quoted and we fear that the known abilities of its author may perhaps afford some sanction to a scheme which, driving this principle of protection to its extreme limits, illustrates some of its worst features.

It is proposed to establish an association for the purpose of sending to Europe a small number of young Bengali gentlemen, who should proceed to an English university with the object of being impregnated with the spirit fostered by our English university educational system; of being imbued with a tone of manly self-reliance, of assimilating something from the "vigorous, high toned, free and generous life of England;" and who on their return to this country would form a connecting link between Europeans and the native community. A fund is to be raised by subscription to defray the expenses of these chosen youths, they are to be received in England by the association, a proper person is to be appointed to take charge of them and advance their general interests, and they are to be protected even from other protectors, for we find that they will be insured against "any impertinent attempt at propagandism." It is certainly difficult to restrain a smile when we are promised that the issue of all this is to be "manly self-reliance, independence, &c." as per programme. We are at a loss to understand how any one even slightly acquainted with this country, could propose such a plan *for the attainment of such an end*: had the author contented himself with promising, as the result of his proceedings, a class of public servants whose Europeanized educational accomplishments might be useful to government, and whose native subserviency, nurtured by this elaborate system of eleemosynary teaching, should be cultivated to the most perfect finish of servility, we should have thought the means at least suited to the end, and given him credit for a sound knowledge of human nature in general, and a just appreciation of its Asiatic peculiarities. If as an experiment it were attempted to cause an ordinary young Englishman to go through a university career uninfluenced by that spirit of 'manly self-reliance and independence,' which Mr. Pratt so justly asserts to be the most precious result to be desired in the case of a Bengali, could ingenuity contrive a scheme more likely to ensure success than this one of sending him there the recipient of public alms, bestowed for the loudly avowed purpose of making him learn to be independent and manly? And still after clearly setting forth that the youth of this country need nothing save some of this moral tone, after plainly showing how



difficult it must be for a Bengali gentleman to assimilate the desired moral element, this is the plan set forth. Other ends might be met, other objects gained, much good might arise, from even thus, sending young Bengalis to Europe; for instance, few men who had ever been in Europe would even join a rebellion against European power in India; but we have no hesitation in asserting that, whatever else its results, the scheme could never effect what is proposed in this pamphlet, itself an admirable specimen of that kind of protection which aggravates to the highest point the very fault it seeks to remedy, and crushes in its fatal embrace the bud it seeks to ripen into premature fruit.

One of the objects, subordinate to the above, also proposed, is the admission of Bengalis to the Civil Service as covenanted officers. We are told that "there is no object of ambition so keenly, and increasingly desired by the youth of India, (Mr. Pratt is a Bengal officer, and here as elsewhere India means for him Bengal) as admission to this highly honored and privileged official guild, and only by coming to England is the object attainable." (P. 24).

We are assured that no superstitious respect for caste would interfere to prevent young Bengal from visiting Europe. The necessary cost is estimated at only £200 per annum (rather low we think, but this is immaterial to our present point)—so that it cannot be the cost which stands in the way of hundreds of young Bengali gentlemen visiting Europe now—why then don't they go? Mr. Pratt presents us with a truly curious sketch—young men of high intellectual powers, writhing under a sense of injustice, goaded by the keenest ambition to enter on a course to which, he tells us, their religion is no obstacle, and for which hundreds of them possess the pecuniary, means and nevertheless do not enter on it. This association, unlike Providence (who we know helps those who help themselves) is to take some of these youths, and, by a process, that might almost succeed in turning the son of a Cumbrian yeoman into a *sneak*, to imbue them with "manly self-reliance, &c. &c." as above. We have yet another quarrel with Mr. Pratt, he is so enamoured of his plans that he promises that it would place even the Supreme Council within reach of native gentlemen, that it is to "make the Queen's Proclamation something more than an empty word." (P. 25.) We venture to remind him that the proclamation is not an empty word, and needs none of his protection. Why does not he complain that the champion's belt is an empty strap, because he or Sibchunder don't go into training? or does he think it unjust that the next fight is not to come off

at Hooghly in order that his late friends the Danes should have a chance?

The proclamation *is not* then an empty pretence, as we are told to believe, the Council *is* open to Bengalis, they *have* a free stage, and we hold that to superadd to that the protection of the proposed association, although it might produce Bengali Covenanted Civil Servants, or even (in the emphatic words of the pamphlet) "Buffers," would most certainly not produce gentlemen, but would on the contrary leave its victims more utterly Bengali than it found them.

The time we firmly believe will come when Bengali gentlemen will assimilate much of our European social and political and even moral feelings and habits, as much as the healthy development of the good qualities normal to their nature will permit. They will visit Europe freely we have no doubt; but we as firmly believe that, if this notable proposition were carried out, that time would be postponed instead of advanced. The putting on of European habits, as a mark, *must* (pro tanto) unfit the wearer from appreciating the spirit whence those habits spring: or, to resume our rather threadbare simile of the tree, the hanging of fruit and flowers on the branches would indefinitely retard the natural development of such fruit and flowers as would have been naturally produced.

But we cordially agree with Mr. Pratt in his view, and see how desirable it is that young Bengali gentlemen, should go to Europe, and visit our universities; it is to his plan we object, and because we know that if it be acted on, his object *must* be defeated. We acknowledge how unpleasant it is to recognize one's impotence, how much more agreeable it is to patronize, and to evoke visible results, than to wait for the slow procedure of nature, and to rely on Providence and its unswerving action; the unpleasant course is however the only safe one in this case, and the influence of ruling men, if not strictly confined to negative action, must be noxious; all we can suggest, or the most powerful can accomplish, is to seek to remove obstructions. What then does prevent young Bengalis from visiting Europe? We think Mr. Pratt is right in saying that caste may be eliminated from our list, and we believe that pecuniary considerations have only an indirect influence, in as much as there are unquestionably many young men who could afford to pay £400 a year. No one who knows the class will deny that many are both sufficiently intelligent, and sufficiently well informed on European subjects, to feel a great curiosity about Europe, where many pleasures would be open to them. Thus we have wealth, intelligence, information and curiosity (besides the growing ambition of which Mr. Pratt

tells us) as inducements to go. On the other side we place first natural timidity, and the vis inertiae of an Asiatic temperament, absence of *pluck*, or whatever it is to be called; that view of life which places the existence of such an institution as the Alpine Club, altogether beyond the horizon of Bengali conceptions. Next, and not less influential we place vanity: it is well known in Hindustan that those gentlemen who have gone to Europe, have spent very large sums of money there, creating (as we know) a curious superstition universal in London, that every one who wears a pugri must be either a crossing sweeper, or else a scion of Royalty. The feeling then certainly exists among the gentlemen of India that short of lavish expenditure their position in England would be an undignified one: they can't go as *princes*, so wo'nt go at all; nor is this by any means (as we think) inexcusable; one aspect in which it presents itself to Hindustanis is this: here, the Europeans whom it is pleasantest for them to meet (or shall we say least unpleasant) are the highest officials: few native gentlemen find association with non-official, or subordinate official men, very attractive; could they go to Europe as *princes* they know that the high official class here and at home would be kept in contact with them: were they to go however to spend £400 a year, they would be thrown on the resources of a society of which they think they see a sample in the men they dislike and are naturally afraid of here: this we think is most reasonable. For the removal of these obstructions we have no panacea to propose, nor yet do we know of any royal road by which they may be evaded; we believe indeed that they will rather be overcome, than either removed, or evaded; but we believe too that the question must work itself out. It may be a pleasant task to amuse one's leisure in the construction of "buffers" to protect natives from European insolence, though how the medial position should by any stretch of imagination be supposed to be an attractive one we fail to perceive. We would, besides what we have already suggested, add that this question of European insolence itself admits of discussion: as thus: when two Europeans meet the basis of equality is the normal condition of their intercourse, it is always assumed: this is *not* the case with Asiatics: every man is either master or slave, either condescends or crouches, and each by turns: when an Asiatic and a European meet the former must either patronage or cringe: to the high official he cringes, but his patronizing of the lesser European is repulsed with 'insolence'; who will venture to deny that this is as near the truth as any other theory? no one we think who knows Hindustan.



We do not apologize for dwelling at some length on this subject which, though not itself one of primary importance, forms a part of one which certainly is so, namely the general question of our social and political relations to the people of Hindustan; and what we have been speaking of leads us to the subject matter of the work second on our list for examination.

The journal of the Indian Archipelago Vol. III., p. 117 contains a paper entitled "Europeanization of the Indian races" in which the author assumes that there exists a science which he calls by the name of "Ethics of Ethnology": that race peculiarities not only exist as a *vera causa* in the affairs of man, but may be referred to as an *ultimate cause* in explaining social phenomena. We have indeed met with one writer who carries his faith in breed farther into politics and history than even the author of this paper seems to do: Mr. Gobineau a learned Frenchman, has lately undertaken to reconstruct history on a new basis, his hypothesis is that breed and race peculiarities account for everything in the annals of both nations and individuals. With these views we place in contrast the following quotation. Mr. Buckle (p. 37) says "the differences between nations are often ascribed to some fundamental difference in the various races into which mankind is divided while such original distinctions of race are altogether hypothetical, the discrepancies caused by differences of climate, soil and food, are capable of satisfactory explanation." Much more to the same effect might be given, in which Mr. Buckle ignores, without however contradicting absolutely, the existence and influence of race peculiarities, treating them simply as unproved. Mr. Mills seems to imply more than this in the following passage: "(Principles of Political Economy," Vol. I., p. 390) he writes, "of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effects of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences."

Fortified by the authority of these passages we return to the examination of the paper, which we present as an example of principles and reasoning diametrically opposite to those of Mr. Buckle's work. *In limine* we object that to take for granted that the *Europeanization of Indian race* is desirable seems utterly gratuitous; would any reasonable man assume as self-evident that to Frenchify Germans, or Germanize Spaniards, would form a laudable object of exertion?

As to the means, the first proposed is European colonization. The next is put as follows: "Every encouragement must be given



‘to those natives who are willing to separate themselves from their creed and caste, and adopt that of the ruling race;’ such as do “will in time be most trusted, and most employed by the state;” a caste that is open to all, and that embraces the ruling race cannot remain for many generations an object of general hostility.” Further on we are told that “old dominant and exclusive castes cannot continue to maintain their superiority when they find that power, knowledge and position are slowly and surely passing away from them, and again “when it is seen that it is more respectable and advantageous to be a Christian than a Hindu, the social revolution will have been accomplished: again it is asserted that this plan appears to be favoured by Providence for it has generally been followed by dominant races, and it has succeeded.”

Our knowledge of history is limited, and we confess that the instances, above alluded to, in which this plan, under the favour of Providence, has succeeded, have altogether escaped us. To the general assertion we oppose one case thoroughly familiar to all readers of English History, we mean that of Ireland, of which we suspect the writer has not had an opportunity of hearing. A great many generations ago, colonization *was* tried in Ireland; there were dominant Englishmen, and a subject native race; every encouragement *was* given to those who were willing to separate themselves from their creed and caste, those who did so *were* most trusted by the state; still some how we find that the “caste embracing the ruling race” although it was also “open to all” nevertheless actually has remained an “object of general hostility for many generations.” In that wretched country “an old dominant caste” positively has “maintained its superiority” although they unquestionably did see “power, knowledge and position slowly and surely passing away from them:” there it was long “seen that it was more respectable and advantageous to be” a protestant than a Romanist, and with what result? With one which it is difficult to call a success in policy, and to attribute which to the protection of Providence would be simply absurd if not impious.

The paper contains some equivocal expressions: for instance, when *ancient and dominant castes* are spoken of, Braminism is probably meant, when on the contrary a *ruling caste* is mentioned, the word is applied in a radically different sense, as the equivalent namely of *race*, and confusion of ideas is the natural result. But the obscurity is not confined to the verbal expressions: for instance we are told that government should be “at once thoroughly Christian and thoroughly tolerant.” Now in as much as all history proves that a government is al-

ways tolerant inversely as it is religious, and as it would be difficult to show that Christianity forms an exception to this rule, we submit that the expression, as it stands without explanation or support, is simply a contradiction in terms: again conciliation is recommended and we are cautioned that it is not either "concealment or compromise—but perfectly consistent with the maintenance of right." Now however absolute a truism these words may embody, we fear that the line of demarcation between the conciliation recommended, and the compromise deprecated, is far too subtle for practical application to a national policy, scarcely strong enough to resist the distortion to which every day casuistry would submit it.

Why, we ask, cannot we keep our hands off, and confine ourselves to a line of action which can be demonstrated to be innoxious at least, and to *tend towards* the results all are agreed in thinking desirable? If the construction of "Buffers" is of questionable utility, and difficult in the process, if the *Europeanization of Indian* races by a judicious admixture of colonization and persecution is as impossible as it is little to be wished for, can we not place the means of growth within the reach of the people, supply the intellectual sustenance, the means of gaining knowledge, which is the food of the animal, the manure of the plant, remove every removable obstruction to natural growth and cease to try and distort the direction in which development seeks to take place? When instead of removing trammels we affix them, we infallibly either stifle growth, or irritating opposition, fail to produce what we sought for, and only succeed in turning a natural into a monstrous growth.

Can it be reasonable to set up an image (and that image the incarnation of our own pet virtues) and then deliberately proceed perversely to twist the natural growth of a creature of the Almighty, into the nearest practicable approach thereto? Yet this is the *Europeanization of Indian* races, or else the Creator has forgotten to impress the laws of progress on natural development, and has delegated the charge to individual men. No, our task is to take care that our influence does not deprive the natural growth of national intelligence of a fair chance, that its beginnings do not get crushed by theories of ethnological ethics and all protecting philanthropy, that the struggle and ferment of healthy life is left to work out its own results according to the laws impressed by the divine ruler on the phenomena of national growth, laws of which we are profoundly ignorant, but which we may rest assured are under a control to whose guidance we may safely confide their working, even without suggesting ourselves as the fit and proper model for imitation.

Instead then of encouraging European colonization as a means of Europeanizing the Indian races, we should be inclined from our point of view to consider their presence here at all as being due to the phenomena of *their* national growth, such as the increase of their numbers, the spread of their commerce, and the like, and as a phenomenon abnormal to the national development of Hindustan, and as such *a priori* calculated to disturb natural conditions, and to give rise to an anomalous result. Hence, it would be the duty of our rulers to confine their action to attempts to obviate the bad consequences of these anomalies, to protect the weak against the strong, to see that all got fair play. The author of the paper we have been discussing says that "European colonists *must* not bring with them an arrogant sense of their own superiority," but we think our masters may save themselves the trouble of publishing that edict with official sanction, they will have done their duty if they protect European colonists from violence and wrong, and restrain them from its commission; happily Europeans do not as yet come to this country to elaborate the ethics of ethnology but to trade.

Again surely we may protest against the form of propagandism recommended by the author of this paper. Attempts to lay down the limits of persecution are we believe very dangerous; they have as far as we are aware, always signally failed. "Giving encouragement" to proselytes, "trusting, and employing them, showing them that power, knowledge, and position" are exclusively their's, that "respectability" and all advantages accrue to renegades, all this we unhesitatingly stigmatize as persecution under its most repulsive form; we decline to believe that such a plan will be, or ever has been favored by Providence, and we deny that it ever has succeeded or ever will succeed in attaining any desirable end whatever.

Believing that the fault of all governments, even of our own English government, is over interference, we think that many matters besides the weighting of race horses might with advantage be left to those whom they may most concern; and we believe that in this very delicate matter of national religion the safest course as yet struck out is *non-interference*, and that the less a government has to do with the religion of the people the better for the religion, and the better for the government. We pass judgment on no system: the case with us is a choice between the two courses, interference, or non-interference; and we venture to suggest that experience teaches us this, that government interference in matters of religion, whether for its encouragement, or for its suppression, can scarcely be asserted to have, on any occasion, exercised a very beneficial effect;



while on the other hand, it cannot be denied that in many instances the result of such interference has been baneful in the extreme. For these reasons, besides deprecating the systematic persecution above recommended, we would urge the expediency of detaching government from all connection with any religion whatever. Thoroughly free from all religious pledges, government might be thoroughly tolerant: and it is only consistent with human nature to admit that tolerance based on indifference, is a safer ground to trust to than tolerance which rests on repressed prepossessions.

One of the lessons which Mr. Buckle frequently insists on in the course of his work, is the danger of supposing that the science of politics and sociology are ripe for high generalizations. He states this, but does not, we think, apply it as rigidly as he should do. An example of this may be quoted: he claims to have established certain conclusions on a scientifically satisfactory basis: as thus "the progress made in Europe from barbarism towards civilization is exclusively due to intellectual activity." (P. 204.) Even if we admit this to be true we may fairly question whether he be warranted in proceeding to treat the proposition as if it established something still more general, such as this, that *the aggregate of the acts of any mass of men has a necessary relation to the aggregate of the knowledge possessed by them*: whereas all that the statement implies, all that can legitimately be deduced from it, is an *empirical generalization* for a particular set of conditions, and not a *natural law* of universal application; such empirical generalization may be admitted to be of very high utility, without claiming to be a natural law, and we may accept the assertion made by Mr. Buckle, that the only philosophical mode of treating history is to consider all human actions as amenable to natural laws, without necessarily believing that any such are as yet established.

He may err in attributing to the rules he has established a wider application than they are entitled to, but it is a very common fault, and one which has been committed by many able men. The history of our Indian politics affords many examples of this blunder in reasoning, this assuming of unproved propositions, or stretching of well established partial and limited generalizations beyond their legitimate limits. We believe for example that those critics of the late Mr. Wilson's measures were right, who complained of the speeches which he made prior to his departure for this country, in which he so often asserted that certain conclusions, no doubt satisfactorily established as empirical generalizations, of great importance in the management of such facts as fairly come within their range,



were of universal applicability, or at least were applicable under the very different conditions which obtain in India.

Or to take another instance. During some recent discussions in the Legislative Council, and by the press, certain measures were stigmatized as "class legislation." Those who were in favor of the measures thus condemned evaded the accusation, but as far as we are aware none of them took up (what we conceive to be) the sounder ground of calling on their opponents to prove that class 'legislation' is necessarily vicious. This seems to have been taken for granted on all sides, and yet we do not know that any attempt has ever been made to establish any such proposition, and we believe that if made it would fail. We of course do not advocate class legislation as generally desirable, still less assert that it was desirable in this particular case; the very just assertion that it is, on the contrary, undesirable, is an empirical conclusion of great certainty, but as such should be confined to cases in which the conditions are identical with those from whence the experience of its undesirability was at first derived. This was not asserted in favor of the application of the maxim in India, it was not even asserted that the question should be tried on its merits, but on the contrary every one seemed to accept it as a natural law, a scientific generalization of the highest kind, and of universal application. On examination we soon find how shallow its pretensions to this position are. No one will question that we have a still higher generalization in the statement that *it is the duty of government to protect the weak against the strong*: applying this to the former maxim we cannot deny that a class (as a class) has often been oppressive, on the contrary it would be impossible to single out of all history a case in which any class attained power without abusing it, and exercising it against the weak: if this be true, what becomes of class legislation? The weak must be protected against the strong.

There is a recent Indian case of class legislation which was followed by the most fearful calamities: we believe that it was the cause of some of those calamities, and yet, we dare to believe that it can be justified. At the annexation of Oudh the landholders were deprived of a power which they had notoriously abused; they were thus alienated from the British Government, and to their hostility are unquestionably due some of the worst episodes of the mutinies: notwithstanding which we must either admit that it is not the duty of a government to protect the weak against the strong, or that the government of India was right in legislating against a class of pestilent tyrants. We have taken this maxim, that it is the duty of a government to

protect the weak against the strong, and elevated it to the highest position; we confess that we consider it entitled to this position, but should any one advance that this too is but an empirical conclusion, and insist that it should be stated thus, that it is often the duty of a government to protect certain weak against certain strong, we should not find fault with him for over-refining or casuistry.

Most certain it is that legislation on theories, or as the doctrinaires would say, legislation on principles, has in every recorded case failed, and it is in the highest degree probable that this will continue to be the case until politics (or sociology,) has reached a far higher standard than it has yet done: until that time arrives the truest wisdom of law makers is "to endeavour to adapt temporary expedients to temporary contingencies." All our statistical generalizations being empirical the highest is a fact only for the particular society from which it is collected and not a law of nature as such; in every case we must be prepared to find disturbing causes, the antecedents and consequents of which remain unexplored, vitiating our calculations. By forgetting this, the reputation of the science itself, the just influence, properly exercised by the few ascertained truths of which it consists, are injured. We have seen an accomplished journalist write, and heard able men say, of some measure that it was good "in spite of political economy, and Adam Smith," the fact of course being that the failure was not due to any flaw in the few truths and maxims above alluded to, but to their being pushed beyond their power of application, being made to do duty for what they are not, in short, due to the action of the residual phenomena not contemplated or recognized in them: phenomena, residual as regards our knowledge, but forming the vast and overwhelming majority of the active causes in most of the cases which came before us for judgment.

Summing up our reflections on this latter part of our subject, we cannot avoid the conclusion that there must certainly exist in man's mind a strong tendency to prefer the synthetical to the analytical process, the deductive to the inductive, the dogmatic to the sceptical. Ourselves humble followers of the metaphysical school which represents all our initial mental evolutions as inductive, which teaches that our senses furnish the raw material of our ideas, that experience, experiment, comparison, combination turn our simple conceptions into complex ones, a process analytic and inductive in its essence nevertheless, are driven to the conclusion that, at a certain stage, this process loses favor, and the inverse rule is adopted. It would seem that we weary of the inductive, and for a season at least, cling to the deductive

plan of proceeding. Take for example a boy, a youth—we allow of course as stated, that his ideas on solidity, extension, &c., &c., are all inductively obtained : but how has he become possessed of his ideas on religions, morals, politics ? A very limited supply of the most gratuitous assumptions suffices as a basis for the most unhesitating dogmatism. How clearly defined his rules, how trenchant his application of them !

This remark is, we know, a truism of the tritest : but how comes it that a mental condition thus contradictorily developed in the youth of the individual, should appear in the youth of a nation ; has the metaphorical expression which applies the word *youth* to an aggregation of individuals, any mystic meaning ? Contrast the mental process through which a child, or an assembly of savages, passes in the presence of a conqueror, with the way an intelligent man proceeds, and you will have an excellent example of the deductive as compared with the inductive system. The first mental operation performed by the former, is to assume that what he or they have seen, really happened, of the latter to question the reality of appearances. The next is to conclude (quite rightly) that, the feat being superhuman, the performer is a person to be feared, in the former case, which in the latter if nothing can be detected in explanation the apparent fact is taken as an isolated occurrence, to be used hereafter in comparison with others.

Far stranger however but not less true, that like an individual, like a nation, a science should have a youth. The expression here is metaphorical in a still higher degree : and the strangeness of the fact is aggravated by the reflection that when one science is still in the mythical (or theological) stage, another will have got past it to the metaphysical, or even to the positive rank : and that the same individual man may cultivate two sciences, to one of which he applies a totally different mode of reasoning from that which he makes use of for the other. This must have been the case at the end of last, and the beginning of this century, with those astronomers who took any interest in geology for instance. The latter science was at that time *in its infancy*, a few facts had been observed, (imperfectly) some of these had been grouped under some general empirical statements, but as soon as a very few narrow inductions had been established, a wholesome scepticism was abandoned, the generalizations already reached were erected into natural laws, and though only particular propositions of very limited application, did duty in many a chain of reasoning as universal rules. Astronomy meanwhile was following the strictest inductive course, and we may be certain that



many a man was in intercourse with both sciences at the same time. But political economy in our time presents a still more striking instance, where the rules of inductive research are, as we have labored to show, so systematically neglected by men who (or many of whom) would laugh at a similar proceeding in the case of other sciences. Impatience of doubt, that is, a tendency to dogmatism, is responsible for many a strange flight of fancy in the youth of science, emphatically so far the state of all the inductive sciences during the dead period of the middle ages, when the inductive spirit had disappeared with the last Greek school of physics, and the deductive dogmatism reigned supreme over the intellectual desert.

It only now remains to offer a few criticisms on Mr. Buckle's work, as a whole. The most salient blemish, and that which would we think first strike any one on closing the volume is the marked inconsistency of its first and second portions. Mr. Buckle commences by announcing his intention of writing history scientifically, he ridicules those who have told of kings and courts, of treaties and battles, under the impression that they were writing history, he lucidly states what his own conception of the exigencies of the subject is. Statistical considerations form the basis; men are to be regarded in masses, the influence of external nature on man's mind, and of mind on matter, are the phenomena to be taken into account; the scientific estimation of the result of the collision of these forces is the only real history. Proceeding consistently with this view, he compares, in the earlier portion of the volume, the older civilizations of Hindoostan, of Egypt, of Mexico, &c., showing that all these were elaborated under conditions so similar as to be, as far as the application of his theories is concerned, practically identical, and that they were all due to the action of external nature on man. He points out that this action, though the first in time, cannot progress beyond a certain point, in consequence of the inelastic nature of the causes at work: hence the older civilizations have been all stationary, or retrograde from that point. Whereas the civilization which is due to the second class of causes, namely to the action of man on external nature (that is the civilization of Europe) has no hitherto appreciable limit, depending as it does on the elastic energies of the human mind. At this stage our expectations were raised high, we hoped to have found in the sequel of the volume the earlier European civilizations treated in the same spirit as the ancient barbaric civilizations had been: instead of this however we have a brilliant essay on episodes of French and English history.

After perusing these chapters with the greatest inter-



est, we congratulate ourselves on having met a writer whose works will stand on our shelves next to those of Guizot, Carlisle, Cousin, Macaulay, Villemain, but scarce have we time to make the reflection, when we remember that Mr. Buckle denies that these men have written history at all, that he claims to proceed on a plan radically dissimilar to theirs: wherein this fundamental dissimilarity consists we are however as a lose to discover. In his essay we find sketches of character, sketches of policy, anecdotes, terse, well digested, á propos, and eloquently written, the influence of men and measures on the course of events discussed, in spite of the theories in favor of which so much is urged in the earlier portion of the volume, where we are told that it is an error to suppose that the character of individual great men have any influence on the events of their day, such men being but the expression of the phase of popular tendencies and development in their time and locality.

To the personal prepossessions of Henri IV., to the genius of Descartes, to the sagacity of Richelieu he nevertheless attributes quite as much as any of his predecessors had attributed. He has moreover does all this so ably that the solitary objection which suggested itself to our mind in reading these pages was this, that lauding as he does the policy of Richelieu as liberal and in advance of his fellow rulers, and praising that of Mazarin as able and honest, he pours the bitterness of his invective on Louis XIV., and on all that was his, without apparently remembering that it was precisely the policy of Richelieu, and Mazarin which made the grand monarque possible: and that it seems scarcely just to glorify as statesmanlike, and able, a system of government, the direct and proximate results of which were confessedly so baneful.

At the same time we must allow that the inconsistency is more apparent than real, more in the *manner* in which he proceeds to treat this part of history, than would at first seem, and mainly due to some obscurity in his explanation of his own plans. The fact we believe is this:—When Mr. Buckle started with the announcement that he would construct a science of history, he failed to distinguish between two ideas both of which bear on his subject. If we admit that a science of life, sociology, exists at all, we may (as we endeavoured to show) arrive at the determination of some general propositions from the application of which much may be learned, and much light thrown on the study of history, but which are far from being of universal applicability. Our author then—as we conceive—worked out these, as far as he thought they could legitimately

be applied, that is, mainly to the earlier and less complex form of civilization, seeking confirmation, at times, from other sources. In the exercise of his discretion, he thought it desirable to analyze some passages in the annals of English, and French history, in order to elucidate certain truths, which he conceived were to be learned from them; for doing this according to his own idea, of the way in which history ought to be written, the materials do not exist, and he consequently was forced to proceed with whatever materials were at his disposal, and as best he could; he accordingly manipulates these materials (a rigidly scientific method being impossible) at least in the spirit of philosophical research. Hence the sudden contrast—that the way on which it came to exist, should not, be explained, is our complaint against Mr. Buckle, rather than its existence. We consider him in the earlier part of the work as an artist hewing the marble block into a statue; in the latter, as an artizan, seeking to extract from the quarry, another block from which we hope one day to see a still more perfect statue elaborated.

But in addition to the carelessness which, as we believe, caused this blemish of apparent inconsistency, we have to accuse Mr. Buckle of great inaccuracy in the use of his terms, and expressions; times innumerable we have been irritated by the results of his want of exactness: nor are we among those who think that lucid thoughts are frequently clumsily expressed: had he set his task more clearly before him, we cannot help thinking that his prospects of success would have been greater. As to the final result we do not venture to hope that he will leave the infant science of sociology in a condition to furnish formulæ capable of being applied to the prediction of events, from a knowledge of their antecedents, even in a wide political sense, but he will advance that science towards that condition. His great service to the cause of knowledge, meantime are *first*, having clearly established the existence of the science, having shown that men's actions are, in fact, subject to natural laws; and *secondly*, (should he live to complete his work) that he will have accumulated and digested a mass of information of the very highest empirical value.

The way in which he treats the question of race is another instance of what we blame as inaccuracy. We have quoted a passage containing a short statement of his views on the subject, and stated that we thought his real meaning might be mistaken. What we conceive his intention to be is, that he prefers, when analyzing history, to take cognizance of the more ultimate causes, and to neglect more proximate ones: to discuss the nature of the conditions which have led to the existence of race

peculiarities, rather than to refer to such peculiarities as themselves producing effects of which they nevertheless are *proximately* the origin: in short he ignores an intermediate agent. But, if we are right in thus interpreting what he says, it is certain that the impression naturally left, and which has in fact been very generally left, by what he has written is, that he would altogether deny the existence of race peculiarities as an active agent in the affairs of men. That we do rightly interpret Mr. Buckle's meaning seems confirmed by such passages as that where he speaks of the emigrant Irishman ceasing to be the lazy imaginative Celt of his home; and of Arab tribes, when they had conquered a peaceful people, becoming themselves peaceful cultivators of the soil, and patrons of learning; for this implies that the Celt normally *is* lazy, and imaginative, (from whatever cause) and the Arab similarly nomadic.

It is however in detail, and in the use of words, where this fault shows itself most; for instance, (p. 138-39) where the powers of natives are spoken of and their influence discussed, we object to his speaking of them as *far greater* in tropical countries, than in Europe, and again as *working mischief*. Is, we would ask, the power displayed in the germination of a microscopic seed demonstrably *less* than that which hurls a mountain mass of rock into the valley beneath? We believe that, if it was only intended to convey that the latter was more *striking to the senses*, or more *palpable to observation*, some other form of expression ought to have been used, than *far greater*; and again it is not easy to fix any very exact meaning to such an expression as that saying that a tiger does *mischief* when he kills a deer.

On similar grounds we object to all such terms as *controlling nature*, *subjugating her powers*, *taming her energies*, *turning her aside from her course*, *compelling her to minister to man's happiness*. If this seems hypercriticism we submit that such metaphorical expressions convey an erroneous idea, and impress it, none the less deeply because they suggest it indirectly; if metaphor be required why not suggest a true instead of a false conception of the achievements alluded to above? Would it not be nearer the truth to speak of *discovering the secrets* of nature, of *propitiating her co-operation*, of *conciliating her power*, of *cultivating her good will* or some such modes of expression? For, as a matter of fact, this is what really is done: we take advantage of our knowledge of her plans, to avoid her irresistible action, when it is likely to impede some object which we desire to attain, or to seek its aid when favorable to some design of ours. No action of the *powers of nature* can ever with impunity be *opposed*, *subjugated*, *tamed*, or even *turned aside*.



The very praiseworthy moral courage which has produced a work like this, antagonistic in its tendencies to so many prejudices, has, we think, been pushed by the author to an utterly useless extent. Feeling apparently that he has drawn the sword on a whole phalanx of enemies, he not only throws away the scabbard, but flourishes the naked weapon over the heads of peaceable lookers on, as if to turn partial into (as nearly as he can) universal opposition. What useful end for instance could he propose to himself in penning this passage? "History has hitherto been 'written by men inadequate to the great task, who have filled 'their works with the most trifling and miserable details : personal anecdotes of Kings and Courts : interminable narratives 'of what one minister said, and another thought, or what is 'worse, of battles and sieges, &c. &c., .....interesting to 'those engaged, to us utterly worthless." P. 210.\*

Can we believe that this passage conveys the real sentiments of our author? Is the mental condition which could suggest the belief that all the great men who have written history, are but twaddling chroniclers, consistent with the production of a work like Mr. Buckle's? We think not : and we accordingly set down such passages simply as the gratuitous flourishes above mentioned, and this one as meaning only to give expression to a poignant regret that the historians who have preceded him did not record statistical figures, or when these were unattainable, give as accurate an account of common facts, as they might possess a knowledge of.

This same spirit of gratuitously offending all who come near, has, we conceive, caused some omissions ; as for instance when he speaks of popular religion as exclusively an effect of popular intellectual development, as in fact, a coincident phenomenon, he (as it would seem intentionally) turns a simple historical criticism into a sneer at religion by studiously omitting all mention of the reactive effect of popular religion on intellectual advancement. The way in which he treats literature is absolutely identical with his mode of ignoring religion ; it too is spoken of as a product, all its influence is dismissed unnoticed.

There is a good instance of inaccuracy of expression, amounting in this case to absolute discrepancy between his real meaning and the ordinary construction applicable to what

\* All historians are included in this sweeping damnation ; it is at large asserted elsewhere that no man of considerable ability has devoted his attention to that branch of study ; in another place Voltaire is spoken of as the greatest of historians, and a somewhat grudging recognition is accorded to the merits of Cousin and Fichte.

he actually says, to be found in his remarks on legislation. He tells us that "it is a fallacy to suppose that Government is one of the principal influences by which the course of affairs is impelled or guided." In the same page, a few lines below, we find it asserted that "were it not for smuggling, trade must, at one time, have perished under the prohibitive system." Now it seems to us simply a contradiction in terms, to say that a power which could all but annihilate trade, is not one of the principal influences by which the course of events is guided. What we feel quite sure that Mr. Buckle meant, is, that whenever Government does exercise an influence on the course of affairs, it is usually against the growth of civilization, and that it cannot therefore claim to have aided its advance in any way whatever. With the truth or error of this view we have not to deal, it is one of the many subjects of interest which we have left out of sight, but the form in which the statement is put is an excellent instance of that kind of carelessness in detail which forms our gravest accusation against Mr. Buckle. In parting with him we confess to a feeling of shame at insisting on the presence of these small flaws and blemishes, it looks like the veriest hypercriticism. At the same time we honestly believe that criticism is not necessarily trivial because minute; when we stand far enough off to take into view all the magnificent proportions of the promised edifice, we admire it as a literary coliseum, but this admiration is no reason why we should abstain from scrutinizing the steadiness of the scaffolds to be used in its erection; on the contrary, our admiration of the plan, is the most cogent reason why we should point out that defects, now observable in the general outline, are really due to this scaffolding, to the non-essential portion of the fabric, and will, however to be regretted as superficial blemishes, not affect its permanent stability. Although we may think that Mr. Buckle's enthusiasm may, here and there, have bordered on rashness, although his hopes and his wishes have at times been father to the thoughts which he has turned into promise of great things to come, although we do not dare to anticipate for him the success of which he is himself so confident, we believe he already stands in the first rank of fame, and, if he never wrote another line, would have left a great name on the muster roll of English genius.

ART.—II. *Administration Report of British India. 1859-60.*

THERE are few districts so little known as Tipperah. A public officer upon being appointed there is commiserated by his friends upon being banished “in ultimas orbis.” It is taken for granted that a district so remote can have but little to interest, still less to investigate. We hope to show that even here there is much scope for an observing mind—much that can well repay a man for looking about for himself, and for thinking for himself. The ancient name of Tipperah or Tripura as it should be written is involved in much obscurity. Elphinstone says it was called Jajnugur and was tributary to the kingdom of Bengal which had been established after the rebellion in the reign of Mahommed Toghlak.\* What Jajnugur or Yajnugur may mean here, it is difficult to say. *Yaju* Sanscrit means rice, and is derived from the root *Yaj*, on account of the religious merit attached to an offering of rice made to a guest or to a Brahman. Then we find that rice is included in the Argha or Arghyu offered to Brahmans. So again we find Anasaya bid Sakantula bring the Argha for their distinguished guest whom they afterwards found to be the king. Boetluz translates Argha by *chrengabe* in his Dictionary. If then the word *Yaj* meaning rice has any thing to do with the origin of the name Yajnugur, this last will mean the city of rice. Singularly enough, the district of Tipperah has always been famous for its rice. The different kinds of table rice sold in Calcutta, come from this district. There is a large rice market at Lalpur, which is not much more than 5 miles from Daudkandi by land. If the author of “Rural Life in Bengal” were to visit this place he would very soon be undeceived as to the present price of rice. It is to this mart that rice dealers come. It is from here that large quantities of rice are sent to Calcutta for export.

It is odd that this name Yajnugur should be unknown to the Tipperah people themselves, the more so, as it was changed to Roshnabad so late as 1733 A. D. If the name Yajnugur presents so many difficulties, we are equally at a loss when we come to the name Tipperah or Tripura. Tripura as every one knows means 3 towns, so does Chittagong or Chattagrama mean 4 villages. This however does not help us much in either case—certainly not with respect to Tripura, if the account given by the Tipperah people themselves be the correct one. According to them, the name of Tripura was known long before their settlement there, which they say took

\* Elphinstone's India, p. 686.



place about 500 years ago. It was given in honor of the famous *Matha* Temple at Udaipur which is dedicated to the Sun. He is known in Hindu Mythology as Tripurardana or the destroyer of the Tripura Asura who correspond with the Titans in Greek legends. A very considerable portion of the Tipperah traditions are derived from the Mahabharata, the name Tripura itself is mentioned as giving rise to the Sun's name, Tripurardana. In the first book of the Mahabharata, in which the Syambar or marriage of Draupadi is narrated, we read of several kings who came forward as her suitors. Among them we read of a king of Pandu, which name Professor H. H. Wilson says, was applied to Bengal Proper with part of South Behar, and the *Jungle Mahals*. It is worthy of notice that this king of Pandu is associated with Bhagadatta king of Kamarup or Assam—with the king of Kalinga which is on the Burman coast, and with the king of Tamrilipta the modern districts of Tumluk, Hidgelee and Midnapore. From the fact of the king of Pandu being placed as above, and in the same verse with the king of Assam, Bhagadatta, we may reasonably infer that the city of Pandu was situated somewhere in our Eastern frontier. The royal family of Tipperah say they have descended from the Suryavansa or Solar race. It is difficult to reconcile this their claim with another they make of being descendants of Yudhishtira, as we shall show subsequently. To return however to the origin of the name Tripura, this might mean as we have said before three towns and the name of the district may have been given to it from the fact of their being three chief towns or cities, and this name may have been given at a later period than that mentioned by the Tipperah people themselves. If this be so, the question arises, what three towns may be mentioned. We should say, Agartollah, Udaipur, and Roshnabad or Daudkandi. We say Roshnabad or Daudkandi, for something might be said in support of either claim. Looking at the question from a point of view à la Louis Napoleon, that is with reference to natural boundaries, we should give our vote for Daudkandi. The termination *Kandi*, reminds one of Bundelcund, the country of the Bundelas, Rohilcund, the country of the Rohillas; the word is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Khand*, meaning portion, division, &c. Daudkandi then will mean the country, the city of Daud. It is worth noticing that Daud was the last Affghan King of Bengal. Its geographical position would naturally point to Daudkandi as the place most open to attack, and it may be that the place was called Daudkandi from its having been fortified against Daud. There are some who fancy there are remains of what must have been some attempt at fortification at Daudkandi.

But again the term *Kandi* is also given to any small collection of huts—twenty or thirty being called a *Kandi*—a small *Mauza*. It might so happen that the place was called Daudkandi in honour of the headman of the *Kandi* who settled there. If this be the case, the first interpretation is reduced to a fanciful conjecture—and Roshnabad's chance improves. We do not think however that Roshnabad had any thing to do with the name of Tripurah—as meaning three towns, the district itself was known as Roshnabad—which name was given in A. D. 1733, when Tipperah became a province of the Great Mogul Empire. The name is still known in the district. It is given to the *Chakla* which is held by the Raja of Tipperah in farm, and embraces a third part of the district of British Tipperah. We have never been able to find out why the Chuprasis attached to the Foujdari Court, have on their badges Chuprasis of Chakla Roshnabad. Agartollah has been for many years the residence of the kings of Tipperah. The one town of Agartollah must have possessed many fine old palaces in former times. At present it is one vast ruin. The royal residence was removed to the new town some years ago. We think however that Udaipur must have been originally the capital of Tipperah. For some four or five miles one sees remains of what must have been fine old palaces. Here stands the mart of which we have spoken. At present Udaipur is the seat of a very thriving trade. It is in fact the entrepot of Independent Tipperah. It is distant from Comillah about two days' journey by water, owing to the circuitous course of the Goomtee—but one may go by land for some portion of the way and reach it in of course less time.

Thus far we have attempted to explain the origin of the different names that have been given to Tipperah at different times. We may be wrong—conjecture at any rate can do no harm where nothing is known, where every thing is obscure.

Tipperah, from its position, was not likely to play any prominent part in Indian history, and would not be likely therefore to attract the attention of the native historians of India. These writers, however, do make mention of Tipperah occasionally. Thus we find that Mahomed Toghul made an invasion about A. D. 1279 and carried off much plunder with him from Tipperah, and among other things 160 elephants. Again in about A. D. 1345 Ijlas Khaja invaded Tipperah, or Yajnugur as it was then called, and plundered it. Despite these invasions, which were pretty frequently repeated, the raj of Tipperah preserved its independence up to the time of Shuja-ud-Din Khan who reduced it to subjection in 1733 A. D. and made it a province of the Great Mogul Empire.

These frequent invasions of Tipperah lead us naturally to suppose, that there must have been something to attract the rulers of Bengal to Tipperah. In those "good old times," a province or country was only invaded if there was any plunder to be had. In those days Kings and Princes were great in "Lut-Taráj." Elephants seem to have been the chief object of attraction. The tribute imposed upon the Kings of Tipperah was always paid in elephants. The village of Sonargong, in the Dacca district, was held by the Tipperah kings, as it attained to its eminence under the Mogul Empire, and its rent was always paid in so many kinds of elephants as were agreed upon, just as the tribute and taxes of Sorail\* in the North of this district, used to be paid into the Nawab's treasury at Dacca by a stipulated number of *boats*.

At the best, these few facts give us a most imperfect conception of what Tipperah was in those early times. All that we do know is that Tipperah even then had attained to a high degree of material prosperity, but this is unfortunately all we can know, for the language spoken by the hill tribes is not a written language, and these are therefore no records to aid us in our researches. What was its domestic history—what its internal administration—who were its rulers, whence came they—all these questions and the like must be to us a closed book.

Thus far we have given as much of the early history of this district, as we have been able to collect from the scanty materials at our disposal. The next question of importance that we come to consider, is, what is the language of the district, what its provincialisms—what is the language spoken in Independent Tipperah?

Independent Tipperah includes first the people more immediately under the Government of the Rajah, the Tipperah or hill men as they are generally called, and next the wild tribes who hang about the frontier of our Eastern provinces: of these last, the Kukis are the most numerous and most worthy of notice. The language of the hill men is a spoken not a written language. It has no alphabet. This circumstance of itself proves the language to be one of great antiquity. It may so happen that a language is not a written language from the fact of the people being sunk in barbarism. A written language is one of the earliest developments of civilization. It is not required to meet the wants of a barbarian age—nor of a society whose condition is purely primitive. These remarks will not however

\* Some of our readers may not perhaps know that the so-called Dacca cheeses, are really all made at Sorail. When made to particular order they are very good.



apply to the language of the Hill Tribes, because they have all but superseded their own language by that spoken in British Tipperah. The constant communication of the hill men with those on the plains, has naturally led them to form an acquaintance with the language spoken by the "*Lamo dok*," as our people are called. There are of course some who content themselves with their own unwritten language. But these cases are not very common. We have had one hill man come to us constantly to sell canes which are in great request for punkahs—and we have never had much difficulty in understanding them. They have of course their peculiarities of accent, pronunciation, &c. speak of Hokol for Shokol, for instance. But otherwise they can be understood. The language of the hillmen bears some resemblance to the Sanskrit, and this shows its origin, and its position in the Indo-Germanic family. It must have been brought with the band of Hindu invaders who settled here, and has in all probability been corrupted by the language of the aborigines whom they dispossessed. We shall return to this subject further on, as one argument to the claim set up by the royal family here to their descent from Yudhishtira. It would be foreign to our purpose to enter at much greater length into the subject we have noticed—viz., the affinities of the Tipperah language and the Sanscrit. We might, if we had so wished, have given a list of words in Tipperah with the corresponding word in Sanscrit, but we should have occupied the time of our readers unnecessarily. We hope to show presently the Aryan origin of the royal family of Tipperah which will we trust be sufficient to establish our argument.

We now proceed to make a few remarks on the provincialism of our Eastern Bengal Bengali. We think it would be well if contributors to this *Review*, would sometimes favour the public with some account of the language spoken in the district in which they have had any experience. Every such contribution, however small, is of value to the philological student, and throws some light upon the study he pursues. The language spoken in Tipperah is Bengali, but Bengali corrupted by a large infusion of Urdu words. So much is this the case, that some people speak of the Bengali of those districts as Mahomedan Bengali. The Bible Society, for instance, has a separate translation of the Bible for the Eastern Districts. Any one who has studied good Bengali, must be sorely puzzled on his coming for the first time to a District in Eastern Bengal. The language of the Law Courts again is quite a language by itself. It seems almost incredible that the Court Amlahs, who have all received some sort of education, should commit such gross errors in the Grammar of their own lan-

guage. It is quite a toss up for instance whether *Ami* should be written with a short or a long *i* আম্রি or আম্রী, whether a word beginning with *y*, (য়) should be written with *y* or *j* য় or জ. In fact, as a rule, the words are generally spelt wrong. We have known natives who have obtained junior scholarships, &c., express their surprise at being told that the word *clear* is *Spashta* not *Pashta*.\* Nor again are they able to see that it is quite as much bad grammar to say এপক্ষ বোধ করি in Bengali, as it would be in English to say, "this court *are* of opinion." Although we write so strongly about the ignorance which the Court Amlahs show of their own language, we must in common justice to them say something on their behalf. The older men who are employed at the Courts entered upon their career when Persian was the language of the Courts, they naturally studied it and neglected their own language. Our remarks however will apply to all who have anything to do with the Courts, pleaders, &c.† But we must proceed to mention a few peculiarities of the Bengali of this district, as it is spoken, and as it is written.

I. Interchange of S. and H. *Suar* a pig is pronounced *Huar*. *Sala* a brother-in-law *Hala*—*Shallah*, *Hallah*. This interchange is one with which we are all familiar in the Indo-Germanic family. This fact may be observed in other districts, at least, people who come from other districts pronounce sometimes in the same way. The Guru of the Rajah of Tipperah, pronounces H for S and he comes from Burdwan. It might happen that he contracted the habit there just as some people get into the way of dropping H. in English. We have already referred to the hillmen who change S for H. Among others, we have noticed it among the Firazes of whom we shall speak presently.

II. Interchange of S and the palatal *Chha*. Thus *Sahib* is written *Chhaib*. This interchange may be compared with the French *Chaleur*, *Chose* pronounced *Shaleur*, *Shose*, &c.

III. Interchange of J and Z thus জাইয়া is pronounced *zaiya*. In this particular instance three things are to be noticed. 1. The incorrect use of জ for য় of which we have already spoken. 2. The ungrammatical form for the more correct গিয়া. This we say with all due deference to the late Principal of the Sanscrit College, who has used the form যাইয়া himself, and has then sanctioned its use. Without entering at length into this point,

\* স্পষ্ট not পষ্ট.

† It may be noticed that most of the Amlahs in those Districts come from Bikrampore, near *Munshigunj* in Dacca. One is pretty safe in asking an Amlah if his house is in Bikrampore.

we shall only observe, that if যাইয়া be correct, then the perfect and pluperfect tenses should be যাইয়াছি, যাইয়াছিলাম, and not গিয়াছি and গিয়াছিলাম।

3. The pronunciation of J as Z.\*

Upon this last point we have some remarks to offer. It will be seen that the pronunciation is rather anomalous. Had it been the other way—had there been a Z in Bengali, and had it been pronounced as J, this would have been in strict accordance with philological rules. The letter Z is, as every body knows, a compound letter, made up of D and Y or J, which simple forms are constantly used for the compound letter e. g. Zeus, Dios—Zeus-pater Jupiter. This use of elementary letters for their compound forms is also observed in the Greek letters X and *chi*. Thus we have anax-kios, onux-chor, with which last may be compared the Latin *unguis*, Sanskrit *nath har*, German *nagel*.†

The use then of J for Z would have been strictly correct. Here it is just the other way. This anomaly, if anomaly at all, may be compared with the pronunciation of the same letter in French, as in *juge, jardin, &c.*‡ the only difference being that the Z is aspirated. We may notice also the change of the French Ambrose into the Italian *Ambrogio*.

IV. Interchange of L and N e. g. *lal*—*nal* red, *nal-band* and *lalband*, *nuna* and *luna*. People who have travelled in boats manned by mullahs from Noacolly, must have often heard the word *lamo* to take down sail—which is nothing more than *namo*. The hillmen speak of the subjects of British Tipperah, as the *lamo lok* i. e. the *namo lok* the people down below—the Lowlanders.

This interchange of L and N is very common among children. We have heard the story told of Mr. Shillito, the *crack coach* in Cambridge, that he was explaining the interchange to one of his pupils—as the best illustration he could give, he called one of his little children, and asked her, what she would like to have when she went out. “Nollypops papa,” was the answer.

V. Among other peculiarities we may notice one which has puzzled us sometimes. The word *bhut* is used most commonly as an equivalent to our “I say,” with this difference that we put “I say” before, the natives put “Bhut” after a man’s name. It is not at all uncommon to hear a native shout to his friend *Kadir*

\* It is worth noticing that whilst the J is pronounced as Z, the Z is pronounced as J, e. g. *Miajan* a name proper is pronounced *Miazan* whilst *Zakhm* a wound is called *Jakhm*.

† For a most elaborate discussion of their compound letters, we must refer our readers to Donaldson’s *New Cratylus*.

‡ Of Lattan—on the English language. Vol. II., p. 3.



*Bur Bhut* just as Jones might call out to his friend "I say Smith" We do not know what the meaning of this exclamation can be. It can scarcely we fancy have anything to do with the word "Bhut" which means devil, spirit, &c.

To return to our friends the Court Amlahs. It is by no means uncommon to hear a Mohurrir ask a witness at the end of his deposition, *likhiba jano* which means literally, you can write or can you write you know. Of course he means to ask *likhite jano*. Do you know how to write—can you write? The first expression is hopelessly ungrammatical. Again it is very common to hear the ryots, the *Chasha* men, say *Kohitam paritam na, Dekhitam paritam na* for *Kohite pari na, Dekhite pari na*. I cannot say—I cannot see.

We now proceed to give the topography of Tipperah. According to Thornton's *Gazetteer* the District is said to contain 806,950 inhabitants. It is divided into 12 thannahs which are marked in the map which accompanies this article. Daudkandi, the place at which most people stop on their way to the Sudder Station, is situated at the entrance of the Goomtee. A small stream runs off the Megna which brings one to Daudkandi. There is a bungalow at Daudkandi which belongs to the Public Works Department, and which is sadly neglected. No body who knows it can dream of putting up there for the night. At Daudkandi may be seen a *Sati* monument, erected in honor of some devoted wife who followed her husband to the pyre. North of Daudkandi lies the most valuable portion of the Khas Mahals of this district, included in Pergunnah Baldakhal. The settlement of these Mahals reflects the highest credit on those officers of Government who were entrusted with its execution. Those who agree with John Stuart Mill\* on the question of peasant proprietors will be glad to learn that the system has worked admirably in Baldakhal. Subsequent perusals of Mill have made us less sanguine than we used at one time to be. Be our doubts on the subject what they may, we are bound to admit that the system has been a great success here. The Khas Mahals have been so judiciously settled that they are in some cases large enough to tempt the rich capitalist, and in others small enough to be within the means of the poorest ryot. The Sudder Jumma is in some instances so low as 3 Rs. Any one who has been through Baldakhal must have been struck with the well-to-do air of the ryots. We may also notice that no part of the district furnishes so little work to the Foujdari Courts, as Baldakhal. If any criminal

\* Political Economy. Bk. ii. Chap. 617.

cases do come in from this part of the district, they are generally from the larger mahals which are owned by comparatively wealthy men. It is only when a farmer of one of the larger mahals goes to extort a *Mathot* from his ryots that law suits begin. We would recommend this fact to the especial notice of those who look upon a ryot as the compound of villainy and litigiousness. Khas Mahals may be very troublesome to the Collector—but it is the system under which the ryots are less liable to oppression, and with which they are therefore most contented. It is well known that it is the intention of Government to sell off all the Khas Mahals. This work has been put into the hands of an officer who has quite established a name for himself as a revenue officer. We must therefore crave his indulgence for the few remarks we are about to offer on this subject.

The settlement of these Mahals may be effected in one of three ways. Like Mr. Gladstone we have three courses. 1st the present system might be retained, with of course such improvements as may be rendered necessary by the change in the condition of the ryots generally. We have not the slightest doubt that this course would be made popular with the poorer farmers, the peasant proprietors. At present they hold their lands direct from Government: they are ryots of Sirkár Bahâdur. Even if they pay their rents through a middleman, they know they are free from any oppression or annoyance. Their rent has been settled by the Collector. To him they always have a ready access. His ear is always open to hear any complaint they make. He is always willing to give them any redress they want. They are sure of justice at his hands. If then we would look to the well-being of the poorer farmers, this mode of settling the Khas Mahals would be most desirable. Unfortunately however it is quite impracticable, under the present system of administration in which the offices of Magistrate and Collector are rolled into one. Any officer who wished to discharge his duties not only satisfactorily but conscientiously, would find quite enough to occupy his time with the work that devolves upon a Magistrate or Collector. The duties of a Collector are at all times onerous, if not from their multiplicity, at any rate from the responsibility which attaches to his office. His work has been increased very considerably under Act X. 1859, as very much that used to be done by the Civil, has now been transferred to the Revenue Court. To his immediate duties have been added those of a Magistrate and he is now charged with carrying out the provisions of the Income Tax Act. It may well be asked, how can one man even attempt to get through all this work. If then the Collector is already over-

tasked it would scarcely do to burden him with the general supervision of the Khas Mahals. For this reason we think that our first course will not answer. 2nd. The next plan that suggests itself would be to farm out the Khas Mahals in Putni, taking the usual *Salami* or *Nazar* from those with whom the settlements are made. This scheme would please the richer farmers, but though it would be very far from being unpopular with the poorer ryots-farmers, the immediate profit to Government would be very great. There are some who will say that it would not quite do for Government to take a *Salami*. For our part, we do not see any harm in this. Every Zemindar takes it, and what is more, every ryot, and every Ijradar is only too glad to pay it, in return for the advantages which he will derive from the Putni tenure. We believe that Raja Satia Charan Ghosal carried away two lakhs of rupees in *Salami* alone when he made putni settlements of his estates. We believe that Government would realize from the Khas Mahals in this district alone, some twenty lakhs of rupees on *Salami* alone. This added to the *Salami* upon the Khas Mahals in all the Districts would realize an enormous income. 3rd. The last plan would be to sell the Khas Mahals outright or rather to sell them as copyhold tenures. The advantages resulting from such an arrangement would be great. The Government would secure a very large sum of money for its immediate relief. By this plan an experiment would be made of what might hereafter be generally adopted with regard to the whole landed system in India. It will be a great day for India when the Government will have freed itself from the difficult and unpleasant task of collecting the land revenue. Lord Stanley had some such project in his mind, when he suggested the plan of selling the lands at twenty years' purchases. Unfortunately, party questions and parliamentary divisions took precedence of all questions connected with India—and so the matter dropped. Twenty years' purchase money of the estates in Bengal alone, would have been a wind-fall to the Government, and would have kept it to say the least solvent.

The Khas Mahals in Baldakhal are, as we said before, the most profitable in this district. Those to the south of Daudkandi, known as superior Betelnut Mahals, are a dead loss to Government. Their rent is assessed upon the Betelnut trees. Supari plantations ought not to be unprofitable, if one may judge from the ready sale it finds amongst the natives who use it very largely, as a relish to the pân leaf. The fact however is that this part of the district is overrun with jungle, and is infested with wild beasts. The consequence is, that the na-



tives feel afraid to go and settle there. Immense tracts of lands are thus left uncultivated. Farmers neglect to pay their rents on purpose, so that their lands may be sold. We have known Khas Mahals here to be bought in for a rupee by Government under Sec. 39 Act XI. 1859. Their Sudder Jumma at the time was about 20 Rs.

The question naturally arises, cannot some plan be adopted to render these lands not only more profitable to Government, but also more valuable to the farmers themselves. Some will say, that the farmers are themselves to blame, that their own interests ought to induce them to clear the jungle. We have nothing to say to this argument, as an argument. We are of course aware that self-interest is or ought to be a sufficient incentive in such matters. But this question has to be looked at from two points of view—from the farmers' and from a Government point of view. If the farmers will not look to their own interests, this is no reason why Government should do the same. The Government has a duty to discharge to the people—it has also a duty to discharge to itself. Both these ends would be attained if Government were for instance to offer these lands to speculators on favorable terms. There are many capitalists who would gladly take these Mahals in perpetuity, on the condition that they should hold the waste lands for 5 or 10 years' rent-free. There is nothing, so far as we know, to prevent these lands from becoming very valuable, if only the jungle were cleared. The soil is good. The crops are good on those parts that have been brought into cultivation. The only difficulty, and it is at present a very great one, is to be found in the extent of the jungle, in some parts tree jungle in some parts cane jungle. If favorable terms were offered to speculators, this difficulty would be soon overcome with the assistance of the hillmen who are noted for clearing jungle. These men generally squat on the hills. They clear the jungle, build huts for themselves, &c., but after one year they decamp, and go to settle in some other part of the hills—which they clear and make habitable, and leave after a year. If they could be induced to stay a little longer in the Mahals of which we are speaking, than they usually do in the hills, the whole of the waste land would be cleared. We are given to understand that some few Zemindars are beginning to engage the hillmen to clear away waste lands on their own estates. The only cause for wonder is that this was not done before. We are well aware of the great difficulty there is in getting these hillmen to abandon their nomadic habits and to come down from the hills to the plains. We think however that the hillmen are sufficiently alive to their own interests and would come to terms if they considered them favorable.

Our plan therefore would be this, we would give the waste lands rent-free for 10 years, after which time government would reserve to itself the right of assessing the lands at a reasonable rate, but assessing them in perpetuity, making in fact permanent settlements of them. We would have government impose the condition that the allotments should be visited once in the year by the Collector of the district or by one of his subordinate officers, whose business it would be to report upon the progress made in clearing their lands. We do not profess to give more than an outline of a scheme, whose details we think would be best filled up by Government. We think that some plan similar to ours might be adopted in every district in which there are any waste lands. The results would be favorable as well to the government as to the public. Daudkandi is 32 miles distant from Comillah the Sudder Station. The road is a very fair carriage road all the way. It runs very much above the surrounding lands, and is by this means kept open during the rainy season. The journey by water is very long, owing to the circuitous course which the Goomtee takes. A *Khal* runs almost parallel with the Daudkandi road and is very much used by smaller boats. During the rains a guard boat can come up by it as far as Bankanita, that is 10 miles from Comillah. During the dry weather it is only open to Elliotgunj which is half way between Daudkandi and Bankanita. It was proposed a short time ago to construct a canal from Comillah to Bankanita, and thus have a more direct communication by water between Daudkandi and Comillah than there is at present by the Goomtee river. It is much to be regretted that the higher authorities rejected the plan. Daudkandi would then have been only a few hours distant either by land or water, whereas now the traffic that is carried on between Comillah and Dacca, must come up the Goomtee which takes 4 days during the rains, and a couple of days or 3 days, in the cold weather.

We hope however that one of the first purposes to which the 1 per cent. tax for Public Works will be devoted will be the Bankanita canal. The advantages that would result to the trade between Comillah and Dacca if the means of communication were facilitated are so obvious that we need scarcely say more. The expense attending the construction of this canal will not be so very much, as nearly half the work is already done for us, that is to say, the course of the canal exists already. The main road runs considerably above the land on either side—and so the only thing that would have to be done, would be to dig deeper and wider. The difficulty in getting the land would be very soon surmounted by Act VI. 1857.

Just about half way between Bankanita and Comillah lies Maniamate, a most picturesque little spot—a Chittagong in miniature. The Maniamate hills extend as far as Bijapur for a few miles, and then they seem to break off suddenly. These hills to the west of Comillah are called the *Lalmái* hills by the Tipperah men, who settled there in the way we have described. It is a pity that Maniamate was not chosen for the sudder station in preference to Comillah as there can be no question of its being more healthy. Invalids gladly go there for a change from Comillah but as there is only one bungalow, and that not exactly palatable, every body cannot of course be accommodated. Some have fancied that they have seen remains of old fortifications there. We have heard it said that Maniamate is not within our jurisdiction—that it is what is called *Khàrà-bari*. We suspect however that if any serious affray were to take place there, the authorities would very soon disabuse people's minds on this subject. We do not vouch for what we say, but we have heard that some serious disturbance took place at Maniamate, a few years ago, and that the Magistrate could not interfere. If this should be the case, we think it would be well for the Government to look to that for it would never do to have a “city of refuge,” so close by the sudder station.

Of Comillah little need be said. We are writing for a *Review*, not for *Murray*. The station is studded with *Maths*, of which we shall speak presently. The roads about the station are very good. In the height of the rains one may take a drive 9 miles round the station, over a good turf road for the greater part of the way. The worst road in the station is one which we think ought to be kept most in repair we mean the road to the Bazaar—the High Street of the station. This road is used by all the natives employed at the Courts, by all the pleaders, &c. It is the road to the bazaar, and the road that goes on to Chittagong. Considering that the natives are taxed under the Chowkidari Act, we think that they may fairly claim to have the only road they use kept in good repair. During the rains it is simply impassable, that is unless one does not object to wade knee deep in soft slush. About 5 miles south of the station is Bijapur, where the western hills terminate. It used to be visited very much some years ago for the blocks of petrified lime, which may be still found there. A khal runs by Bijapur which is navigable during the rains. That the traffic to and from Noacolly is carried through it. It is a great boon to the natives if they have anything to do at Noacolly, as they may go in a *Khunda* boat for a couple of rupees. These boats are scooped out of the trunks of trees and are far from being uncomfortable; one



man paddles at the bow and another at the stern. To the north of the district, at thannah Nasirnugur or Brahmanbarta, a very extensive trade is carried on in hides. This will make the sub-division which Government intend to establish there, a rather unpleasant one.

Tipperah has been very much over-rated for its *Shikar*. Years ago it might have offered great attraction to the lover of sport—but we suspect those who know the district now, will speak rather differently of it. In some parts of the districts sport can of course be had. The vast tracts of jungle land must have some attraction. But Tipperah cannot be compared with Rajshaye or Tirhoot, for instance, for its sport.

To come next to the social features of the district. The vast disproportion of Mussulmans here, and in fact in Eastern Bengal generally, must strike the most casual observer. The reasons for this disproportion do not seem very obvious at first. Tipperah was always under Hindoo rule, and was always remarkably free from the absorbing influence of the Mussulman sway. The Raja of Tipperah has always been a Hindoo. His Court has always been Hindoo. How then are we to explain the fact of the Mussulmans being so numerous? Are they the last traces of Mussulman greatness which have survived the general break-up of the great Mogul Empire? Are they the descendants of those Affghan hordes which devastated Bengal? \* If so why should they be found in Eastern Bengal more than in any other part of the country. Had this fact been only observed in Tipperah, we should have had great difficulty in arriving at any satisfactory results. But the fact of the Mussulmans being so numerous in all the districts of Eastern Bengal points, we think, to the influence which was exercised by the Dacca Satrapy, the now obscure, almost unknown, Sunargong once the capital of that province. The muslins for which Dacca has been always so famous, the old palaces and buildings attest even in their ruins the greatness of this province.

The larger portion of the Mussulmans here are Sunis. The Shias form a very small minority, and only remind one of their existence at all during the Mohurram festival, when they carry about their images in procession and keep the inhabitants awake all night with what least approaches to the "concord of sweet sound." The Firazis are a tolerably large but most influential sect here—as in Eastern Bengal generally. They call themselves Firazis from being more strict observers of the Firz or divine word. Their great leader Moulvie Ruamat Ali, who lives in Jaunpur,

\* See Elphinstone's History of India *passim*.

visited these districts some ten years ago. His mission was attended with great success. The Firazis are more scrupulous in the entire observance of the Mahommedan code than their Suni-brethren. They are, if we may so call them, Mussulman Puritans. They profess to carry out the teaching of the Koran to the letter. They fast twice in the week, on Thursdays and Fridays. They attend the mosque more regularly. They eschew everything in dress or manner which would assimilate them in any degree with the Firinghi on the one hand or the *Bhut-parah* on the other. They will not, for instance, wear the trousers so commonly worn by the Mussulmans. They wrap a *Chuddur* round their bodies. A Firazi may be distinguished from any other Mussulman by this part of his dress. Despite their strict observance of the Mussulman creed, they are far from being the most exemplary in their "life and conversation." They are the most unscrupulous witnesses that ever come into the Courts. Like the Cretans we read of in the Bible, they are always liars. This is at any rate the character they bear amongst Mussulmans generally. They are in short a very troublesome sect to deal with.\* *Dadu Miah*, their leader in Eastern Bengal, was the terror of the Dacca and Furreedpore districts. How far the late Lieutenant Governor was justified in releasing him in 1857, is a question upon which we would offer no remarks. During the troubles of that year, the Firazis were doing their best to stir the people up to revolt. The district was saved providentially. Had the Chittagong mutineers come into the station, there could not have been the smallest hope of escape. They came within 20 miles of the station, and then made for the hills, evidently with the intention of joining the Assam corps.

In strange contrast with the fact we have been noticing, viz. the preponderance of the Mahommedans, stand out the *Maths* which are very common in this district. At a distance they look like the spires of churches. We have heard of a gentleman asking the syce as he drove in to the station for the first time whether it was the Church he saw in the distance. The syce's only conception of a "girja" was the Circuit House. Some of these Maths are very fine. There is one at Sudar Rattan about a couple of miles from the Sudder Station, which is very much admired. It was built many years ago by one of the Rajas. There is also another very fine Math at Udaipore in Independent Tipperah. The style of these buildings bear a very great resemblance to the Gothic. What one misses in them is anything approaching to system in their construction. Over a beautiful

\* The Firazis are generally found in the chur lands of this district. Their stronghold is in the Thannah Tapkibagra.

carved window for instance there will be found the zig-zag moulding so characteristic of the Norman style—thus putting one in mind of what Horace says of the figure half woman half fish.

“ ut nec pes nec caput uni

reddatur formæ.

The subject of Hindu Architecture is still in its infancy. It may so happen that what we should call anarchies or irregularities in style may be strictly correct according to Hindu notions. Fergusson's remarks on the subject in his “Hand-book of Architecture” are meagre and not therefore satisfactory. One could scarcely expect much more from a writer whose highest admiration is called forth by the Crystal Palace, as a work of art—which Ruskin has so happily named a magnified conservatory. We should be sorry to be misunderstood to say any thing in disparagement of Mr. Fergusson's labours on this subject. All we maintain is, that to arrive at a just appreciation of any style of architecture we must thoroughly admire it. No one for instance would go to Lord Palmerston or to Mr. Tite for his opinion on Gothic, nor to Mr. Scott for his opinion on the so-called Italian style. One word more about these *Maths*. It may be observed that in some cases they have been raised over the palace where a Hindu has been buried. We notice this circumstance because it is so entirely opposed to the Hindu practice of burning bodies.

We proceed to mention another trait of native character, not so much from its being peculiar to the natives in this district, or in Eastern Bengal, but on account of the conclusions we wish to draw from it. We refer to the fondness for titles. Every native who holds the smallest patch of land possible signs himself a Shaikh or a Mizi or a Bhuya, &c. whilst the more ambitious aspire to the title of Khan or Choudhari or Rai Choudhari or Bahadur. A publican\* drops his gentile name, Shaku, as soon as he finds himself rich enough to buy a taluk, and this is the case with all natives.

Now the question has arisen, and it is of great importance at the present moment, cannot Government turn to account this weakness for titles, and derive some pecuniary advantages from it? Cannot some scheme be adopted, whereby every person upon paying a recognized fee to Government may be invested with the title of Khan or Choudhari or Bahadur. There is nothing new, nothing chimerical in this. Every reader of Hallam and Blackstone knows that James I. created the title of Baronet when he was pressed for money at the time

\* These men are by far the most enterprising.



of his expedition to Ulster.\* Nay more, every one upon whom a title of distinction is conferred by the Crown, has to pay the usual fees to the Heraldry office. Our readers will remember the facts that were brought to light when the Emperor Louis Napoleon was invested with the Knighthood of the Garter. If we were to go back to remoter periods, we should find one notable attempt at Plutocracy in the Servian Constitution in Rome. Dr. Arnold's remarks are so pertinent that we shall quote them. "The principle of an aristocracy is equality within its own body, ascendancy over all the rest of the community. Opposed to this is the system which, rejecting these extremes of equality and inequality, subjects no part of the community to another—but gives a portion of power to all—not an equal portion however, but one graduated according to a certain standard, which standard has been generally property. Accordingly this system has both to do away with distinctions and to create them—to do away, as it has generally happened, with distinctions of birth, and to create distinctions of property."†

We see no reason why there should not be a Licence for Titles, just as there is soon to be a Licence for Trades—but with this difference that the licence in the former case would be voluntary—that no one would be obliged to pay any fee unless he wished to gratify his pride or flatter his vanity by assuming a title. We feel sure that the pecuniary advantages to Government from some such scheme, would be great, and what is more, the natives themselves would gladly take advantage of the opportunity afforded them, of obtaining a legal recognition of their titles. Every body who paid the recognized fee would feel that he had a legal right to his title. At present any one may assume any title he pleases. Now we do not see why Chand Bun should have any more right to put after his name Khan or Choudhari or Khan Bahadoor than Mr. Smith or Mr. Jones to call themselves Lord Smith and Viscount Jones. Even in France where titles are virtually abolished, despite Louis Napoleon's efforts to revive an imperial aristocracy, a law has been passed imposing a heavy penalty on any one who puts *de* before his name—which used to be a mark of nobility. The

\* He (speaking of James I.) had recourse to another method of raising money, unprecedented, I believe, before his reign, though long practised in France, the sale of honors. He sold several peerages for considerable sums, and created a new order of hereditary knights, called baronets, who paid £1,000 each for these patents. Hallam's Const. History, Vol. I., p. 338, 5th Edition. See also Stephen's Blackstone.

† History of Rome. Vol. I., p. 67.

very fact of Government conferring such titles on those natives who have distinguished themselves for their fidelity, or for other meritorious conduct, shows that such titles cannot be assumed at pleasure. A. calls himself a Choudhari. B. laughs at him for this and says, he, A., has no right to call himself Choudhari, whereas his, B.'s, maternal grandfather was always called Bhuya by his Zemindar—and if this Zemindar happened to have been a European, why B. thinks his title is indisputable. It is no uncommon thing for a native to ask his Zemindar to call him or to allow him to be called Bhuya or Choudhari; an instance occurred in this district not very long ago. A native who had begun life as a Zemindar's burkundaz succeeded in saving three lakhs of Rupees, or thereabouts, and was able to buy the fourth or quarter share of a very good Zemindari himself. He was very anxious for the seller of the property to call him Choudhari in the deed of sale. We have not the slightest doubt that he would have put on a few hundreds to his Sudder Jumma, if he could but have gratified his vanity. It is no use going against facts. The natives of this country are fond of titles. It would be as hopeless to try and make John Bright believe in protection, as it would be to make the smallest and most insignificant Kat-Ijaradar believe that it made but little difference to his *Izat*, whether he were called Panaullah Mizi or Panaullah Khan Bahadur.

If we were to speak of the natives here as being litigious, we should only say what we fear is characteristic of natives all over India. We do not think however that any other district equals this for downright litigiousness, for petty frivolous cases. We have known a native institute a suit for damages against another person for withholding a receipt for two annas. He had to pay 4 annas on stamp paper to present his petition! When however people speak of the poorer natives—of the ryots being litigious, they do not seem to bear in mind the fact that these poor ryots have been trained in this art, first by their own landlord, and afterwards by the Muktiars who hang about the Courts. A ryot begins his education in litigiousness by going up to the Sudder Station to give evidence for his landlord. A little acquaintance with the practices of the Courts, into which the Muktiars are only too glad to initiate the novice, soon induces him to try his hand at the same business with his master—and with how much success, the Foudari records of every district will testify. Still we think it would be hardly fair to lay all the blame upon the ryots for this. We can scarcely wonder at a ryot going the whole length of bring-

ing false charges and giving false evidence, when he finds that his landlord does not scruple to resort to the same practices. In most cases too, the ryots are mere tools in the hands of a Muktiar who cooks up the case and tutors the witnesses.

It is a noticeable fact that the most litigious part of the district, is that from which most of the Muktiars come. If Government wish to check litigation, there should be a limit put to the number of Muktiars in a district. A Magistrate reduced the number here to 50, some time ago, thinking that these would be sufficient for the work. The Sudder Court thought differently, and the consequence is that there are some 250 Muktiars in this district!

Eastern Bengal may be fairly called the Bœotia of India

Quod si.

Judicium subtile udendis artibus illum  
Ad libros et ad hæc musarum dona vocares  
Bœotum in crasso jucares æere natum\*

The Athenians used to "chaff" the Bœotians for their anaesthesia. This word exactly characterizes the natives of Eastern Bengal.

It is their ignorance which renders them so very superstitious—and again it is because they are so very superstitious that they take so little trouble to improve themselves. As a ludicrous instance of their superstition we may mention the fact that the punkah bearers refused to pull the punkah during meals. They fancied their caste would be injured. This however happened many years ago, and we are not so sure but that their laziness had a great deal to do with their religious scruples. The Mussulman servants here have a curious prejudice against doing bearer's work. Their brother Mussulmans who come from Calcutta and know better, laugh at them for this—but in vain. We do not of course by bearer's work refer to pulling the punkah—but to looking after one's wardrobe, &c.

We must now proceed to give some account of Independent Tipperah. The boundary between British and Independent Tipperah is pretty well defined by the range of hills which skirt our Eastern frontier. A considerable portion of the hills is occupied by the Kukis, who are a very numerous tribe and are to be found in the range of hills which extend from Cachar and Munnipore to Sylhet, Tipperah and Chittagong. They must be the aborigines who were driven away to the hills at the time when the Tipperah Raj was first established. They are not all the savages that some people have taken them to be, though at the

\* Hor. Ep. II. i. 244.



same time their civilization has barely emerged from its earliest stage. They live almost entirely in the hills—through which they seem to thread their way with as much facility as the aborigines of Kaffraria. Living as they do in so primitive a fashion, they eschew of course all the later developments of civilization in the way of dress. Their pretensions to beauty are infinitesimal so that, altogether, the sight of a live Kuki when revelling in the full enjoyment of his pristine civilization, is by no means a most attractive sight—such a sight however may be sometimes witnessed by the traveller to Chittagong, if he happen to stay for a day or two at the dâk bungalow at Zeraroomgong.

The Kukis have a chief of their own to whom they pay implicit submission. They also pay a capitation tax to the Raja of Tipperah, to whom they owe a nominal allegiance. This tax is only assessed on the married men. The amount of the tax is about three rupees. Some of the Kukis who hold intercourse with the Tipperah men and our subjects, are of course very much more civilized. They are found to make good very troops. The Kuki corps has always given great satisfaction. The Kuki dog deserves some notice. He is short-legged and very long-bodied with long shaggy hair on the back only, the belly, &c. being perfectly smooth. His flesh hangs very loose upon him—a fact which always tells against him in his encounters with other dogs. He is very plucky, and will go up to any thing. A gentleman had a Kuki dog some years ago, a piece of rare good luck, for the Kukis do not like to part with their dogs. This dog never retreated from any thing—went even at leopards, although he was very much mauled of course. The Kuki's affection for his dog puts one in mind of Pope's lines on the Indian and his dog—though Pope's Indian belongs to a different clime by the way.

It is sometimes difficult to draw the line of distinction between the Kukis and the Tipperah men. This line however is drawn very easily by themselves, who notwithstanding their intercourse and intimacy never intermarry. The Tipperah men are divided into some 18 or 20 different classes. The Royal family, by their own account, claim descent from the Suryavansa or Solar Race—on which point they must be making some mistake, especially as they trace their descent back to Yudhisthira one of the heroes if not *the* hero of the Mahabharata. Now this epic poem recounts the adventures of the five Pandus who were descendants of the Lunar Race. The Mahabharata in short is the history of the Lunar, the Ramayuna, the history of the Solar Race. The Tipperah family therefore cannot clearly be descended from the Suryavansa and yet trace back from Yudhis-

thira their descent to Yudhisthira. Their connection with a descendant is highly probable. This hero's wanderings through India after he had gambled away his kingdom at the time of his ill-fated Aswamedha or horse-sacrifice, are recorded in the Mahabharata, and are most interesting to the student of the early or mythical period of Indian history. Some sort of connection can be traced between the royal Hindu families, and those mentioned in the Mahabharata. One reads of a king of Bengal in that poem—with whom in all probability the king of Tipperah, the Cachar and Manipura Chiefs are all connected. One thing is quite clear. The royal family are foreigners in Tipperah. When they settled here—when they brought their followers with them, is a question which it is well-nigh impossible to answer. Descendants of one of the heroes or kings mentioned in the Mahabharata, they came and settled in those parts, and drove the aborigines back to the hills. These aborigines as we said before must be the Kukis of the present day. Their habits of life, their character, their external appearance, all point to their connection with the aborigines in other parts of India—with the Santhals, Bheels, &c. "Small in stature, with little eyes and flat noses, they have no castes although extensively divided and sub-divided into classes and tribes, and no idols, although their superstitions are numerous. They are not without industry and ingenuity, and their mountain-huts often possess a considerable air of comfort. They are a people without a history and without a formed language, and having been obliged to recede before the superior force and intelligence of the Hindu or Aryan race, they have taken refuge in dense forests or on barren rocks and have fallen in many instances far below the grade to which they had previously attained."\*

The Kukis, as we said before, are to be found scattered about the hills between Cachar and Chittagong. They must in all probability have been dispossessed of their country by two or three bands of foreign invaders, and at about the same time. We do not know to what family or race the Manipuri and Cachar Chiefs trace back their origin. There can be no doubt that they are connected with the royal family of Tipperah. There is also no doubt that there is some social difference between them. A member of the royal family here may marry the daughter of a Manipuri chief—but on the other hand, a Manipuri chief may not marry a princess of the house of Tipperah. This fact clearly points to social inferiority existing somewhere—a fact which we cannot explain, as we do not know what account the Mani-

\* Life in Ancient India, page 17.

puris give of themselves. If we did we might be able to arrive at a probable solution of the difficulty, with the help of the Mahabharata.\* We have already spoken of the Kuki's affection for his dog—we ought not to forget the Kuki's goat, to which he is equally attached. Nothing will ever induce him to part with one or the other. The hill goats here are a very fine breed, and would be very much esteemed if only they could be procured. Among the curiosities of Tipperah may be mentioned white crows—a few of which the Raja has in his possession. We believe it was his intention to have presented the late Lieutenant-Governor with a couple on his visit to this district. We have ourselves seen a grey crow—or rather a crow half-black half-white—a fact to which we cannot call the attention of Mr. John Stuart Mill in the next edition of his Logic.

The Kuki's notions of dress differ considerably from ours. The only mark of distinction which he reserves for his chief is a large quill stuck on the back of his head, from which hangs in streamers as it were, goat's hair dyed of a bright-red colour. The Kukis are fond of music, as they understand it. Their musical instrument is made of the pumpkin which they perforate, and on which they stick reeds—a very primitive instrument no doubt—but one which affords them intense pleasure. The pumpkin is turned to account in various ways by them. After it is dried, and the liquid has been extracted from it, it becomes as hard as leather. They use them as pitchers to fetch water in, and make them exactly like the *Kulsis*. When smaller in size they make very good goblets or surais.

The bamboo, like the, pumpkin is converted to various useful purposes by the Kukis and the Tipperah men. It might really be said that the bamboo supplies all their wants. With it they build their huts. With its leaves they thatch their roofs. The young grain which is found in the bamboo blossom, they eat as rice which they boil in the bamboo pot as we believe the Burmese do. Considering that the bamboo is thus utilized by the hillmen and that it is so very common in the hills, it is no wonder that the hillmen cling to their nomadic life which we have already described. As the hills are not attractive to settlers generally on account of the jungle, the hillmen have no difficulty in wandering from place to place.

\* We have not yet had an opportunity of reading "Latham's Ethnology of India," and are not able therefore to see at what results the learned author has arrived. We have no doubt however that Dr. Latham has entered fully into the question of the aborigines of our Eastern frontiers and their invaders, if we may judge from the importance that he attaches to our "Origines" in his Treatise on the English language.



"The world is all before them where to choose their place of rest." Among the hills at Maniamate, may be seen small colonies of these hillmen living apparently in perfect harmony with each other.

The Kukis and Tipperah men are very superstitious. They look for an omen in the least thing they do. Before they go out on any sort of expedition, they sacrifice a cock, or any bird or animal they can lay hands on, and look at his entrails for an omen.

"They would not have you to stir forth to-day ;  
Plucking the entrails of an offering first  
They could not find a heart within the breast."\*

The temple which the hillmen hold in great veneration is one at Agartollah, in which are kept 14 heads of brass—supposed to represent their tutelary gods. Every body who passes by this temple is expected to bow to it, or to make a salam to it. Mussulmans with all their strong antipathies to images and image worship do so, or are obliged to do it. The most remarkable feature in their religious worship is the practice of offering up human sacrifices. They do it so secretly that every effort to discover it has failed. Their chief Brahmins, like their confrères all over India, have religious pupils or Brahmacharyas—and it is highly probable that one of them is offered up to appease one of the 14 offended deities. We say highly probable, for the victim is generally selected from that class in other places where human sacrifices are, or need to be offered. Thus among the Khonds the victims were pulled out from amongst the Meriahs, with this difference, that among the Khonds male and female victims used to be offered. Human sacrifices seem to have been offered in very early times. We read of Isaac being led away for that purpose in Holy Scripture. We read of Iphigenia in Greek legend. There is no mention made however of such sacrifices in the Vedas, the earliest Hindu authority we have. In the Rig Ved and the Yajur Ved the Aswamedha horse sacrifice is mentioned, but the late Professor Wilson did not see anything in it to lead to the conclusion that this sacrifice had any religious object. In the Rig Veda—the earliest authority we have, the Agni hotra, or offering of clarified butter, is principally observed. In the Sama Veda we read of the juice of the Soma plant being offered. The earliest intimation we have of human sacrifice is to be found in the Aschareya Brahmana, from which Roth, the co-editor of the Sanskrit Wörterbuch has made some extracts in a most

\* Julius Cæsar, Act II. Sec. 2.

interesting article on Weber's *Indische Studien*. The story when briefly told is this. Harischundra had been married to a hundred wives, and yet there was no man child born to him. At the suggestion of Narada, a sage, he went to King Varma and promised that if his prayers were heard, and a son granted to him, he would offer him up in sacrifice to the king. Harischundra's prayers were answered and in due time a son was born, whom he called Rohita. Varma wanted to keep Harischundra to his promise, but the latter put him off in various ways, first calling Varma to wait till the child was ten years old, then till he cast his teeth, and then lastly till he grew up to man's estate. Harischundra yielded at last—but his son Rohita was far from being inclined to accede to any such arrangement, and fled to the woods. There he wandered for 6 years, until he fell in with the Rishi Ajigasta. This man had three sons, of whom the second, Semahsepa, was promised by the father upon Rohita paying the Rishi 100 cows. No one was to be found to bind and then to slay the victim unless Rohita gave 200 more cows. Semahsepa who was by no means willing to offer himself in sacrifice, interceded first with Prajapati and then with Agni and Saritar, who referred him to Varma, who again advised him to go to Indra. The rest of the legend is concluded in the 2nd volume of the *Indische Studien* which we have not got. Enough has however been related to show the fact of human sacrifices being known at this time. The legend is for this worthy of notice, as bringing out the idea of a vicarious sacrifice—when Rohita tells his father he has got Semahsepa to offer himself up in his stead. This legend, apart from the general interest which attaches naturally to it, bears upon our present subject. Whilst the other Hindus have gradually given up human and animal sacrifices, and returned to the older Vedic rites, their brethren here, and we believe the same applies to Munnipore, Cachar and Assam, have adhered to the practice of offering human and animal sacrifices, a practice old in itself—but which was generally superseded by the older Vedic sacrifices. We have heard Hindus notice this ritual difference between themselves and the Hindus of Independent Tipperah. But we must bring our remarks to a close lest our subject should tempt us to make any unnecessary digressions.

Thus do we find broken rays of that Divine Light which first shone forth in its most brilliant effulgence on Mount Sinai, over every tribe and nation of the world.\* The deep sense of

\* We must refer our readers to the 2nd Volume of Gladstone's *Homer*—where the Homeric traditions are most ably discussed. Such men as Mr.

our own unworthiness—the consciousness of guilt, the need of reconciliation with an offended God—the means of effecting such a reconciliation—are all shadowed forth more or less distinctly in all the creeds of heathendom.

The Comtist may charm us with his Law of Progress in which he thinks he recognizes three stages—the Theological, the Metaphysical and the Positive. The Panthiest may bewilder us with his abstractions. The materialist may shock us with his grosser absurdities. But the human mind is irresistibly led to look for a common source for those common traditions of which we have spoken. In such a research, neither Comtist nor Pantheist, nor Materialist can afford us any help—"Many 'a young aspirant after a philosophical faith trusts himself 'to the trackless ocean of rationalism in the spirit of the too 'confident Apostle—"Lord bid me come unto thee on the 'water." And for a while he knows not how deep he sinks; 'till the treacherous surface on which he treads is yielding on 'every side, and the dark abyss of utter unbelief is yawning 'to swallow him up. Well is it ordered with those who 'in that least fearful hour can yet cry "Lord save me," and 'can feel that supporting hand stretched out to grasp them, 'and hear that comforting voice, so warning, yet so comfort- 'ing"—"O thou of little faith wherefore didst thou doubt."\*

Here then we conclude for the present. We hope at a more convenient season to return to the subject, when we shall enter upon questions of great importance—connected with the disturbances created by the Kukis at the beginning of the year.

In bringing these remarks to a close we shall be more than amply rewarded, if we shall have succeeded in leading our readers to see that if they will but use their eyes and ears—if they will but "see with their eyes, and hear with their ears," if they will but observe all that passes around them, and think for themselves, much information might be picked up in the most remote districts in which their lot may be cast. Every district in India teems with legends and customs, every district has a history of its own. If only people would look about, and think, they would with Shakespeare's Duke in the Forest of Arden.

"Find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks  
Sermons in stones and good in everything."†

Gladstone show us that deep scholarlike erudition can co-exist with a belief in the truth of Christianity

\* Mansell's Limits of Religious Thought, p. 65, 4th Edition.

† As you like it. Act II. Sec. I.



## NOTE.

We have since discovered accidentally a case in the Reports of the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut for 1852, page 899—in which some men of the Joom Tribes in the Chittagong district were punished, some with death, some with transportation, for having offered up some Kukis in sacrifice. We extract the following interesting details from the decision of the Sessions Judge of Chittagong. "The murder with which the prisoners are charged was committed in a part of this district known as the Toonia Joom Mehals, situated among the hills, and generally covered with jungle. The inhabitants of this jungle are of different castes and tribes, Mugs, Chukmas, Reangs. (by whom the murder was committed.) Tipperahs, and others, all more or less *nomadic* in their habits. To the east of these people but also scattered through the Joomi, dwell the Kookies, a tribe more backward in civilization than the others, men and women going alike generally in a state of nudity. They are looked on by the other inhabitants of the Joomi as an inferior race. The habits of all these tribes are nearly the same; a small patch of land is cleared of jungle for cultivation, and huts are built on piles for the different families intending to reside there. When the land is exhausted, or the inhabitants become tired of the place, they remove to another spot in the jungle, setting fire to the deserted village to prevent their cattle returning to the homes they are accustomed to .. . . . The tribes worship fourteen Deotas or gods, some of which correspond to the Hindoo, while others are local Divinities. It has long been notorious that human sacrifices to their gods are not of uncommon occurrence .. . . . The place of sacrifice described by the witnesses is merely a spot cleared of jungle, and staked round with bamboos about six feet high. The *phoola bans* mentioned by the witnesses are bamboos scraped at the edges, the scraped strips left adhering to the stem thus giving a rude notion of ornament."

The Judge was mistaken in confining the Kukis to the jungle lands east of the Joom Tribes, as Kukis, as we have observed before, are found all along the range of hills extending from Cachar and Manipur to Chittagong. He was equally mistaken in confining the worship or *culte* of the 14 devatas to the tribes mentioned by him. We have stated before that the semi-divinities are held in great reverence by the Tipperah tribes. We forgot to mention one or two circumstances connected with the human sacrifices offered in honor of their Devatas. Their sacrifices do not take place at stated times, though generally once in every year. During the celebration of this sacrifice, or rather religious service, for the fact of the sacrifice is kept a profound secret, a gun is fired every evening a little after sunset when every body at Agartollah is expected to return to his home. If the slightest interruption is offered to this service, such as the sickness or death of one of the priests, it must be performed *de novo* and another victim must be offered to the offended divinities.

We do not mean to say that the practice of offering human sacrifices is observed by all the Tipperah Tribes. All we say, is, that it is observed by many, discouraged by none of the tribes. The tribe of the *Ujair* are most notorious for such sacrifices.

The Chukmas, to whom the Judge refers, are a tribe not known out of Chittagong. The Reangs are a sort of half-caste tribe, being sprung from the very low Tipperah tribes, and the Kukis. We shall have occasion to refer to them subsequently.

The white crows of which we have been speaking have bright red eyes. Speaking of white crows leads us to mention white Deer, as another curiosity here. To the sportsmen this fact might be interesting.

ART. III.—1. *Act XXIV. of 1859 of the Legislative Council of India.*

2. *General Principles to be observed in the Reorganization of the Police.* By W. ROBINSON, Inspector General, Madras Police, 3rd December, 1858.

3. *Police Orders by the Inspector General of Madras Police.*

4. *Madras Police Administration Report for the Official year ending 3rd April, 1860.*

PRESERVERS of the peace have always had a hard time of it. It has been the peculiar lot of these very necessary and very useful public servants to be better abused than any other class of officials. The watchman of the olden time, with his lantern and his rattle, his rheumatic joints and his wheezy cough, was the safe object of slander and assault; until general ridicule and execration turned him into the trim Policeman of the present day. A safe snooze in a watch box is now changed into the vigorous patrol; and we suspect many a "fast" young man can tell, that a "Peeler" is not so safe a subject to handle, as the "Bloods" of former times found in the muffled up antiquities who were supposed to enforce obedience to the law. But even now Policeman X. has his enemies, who will more than hint that he is not above the allurements of a cold leg of mutton; and that he finds the protection of a kitchen and the favors of the cook more to his liking than the weary beat on a cold night, or the perils of enforcing order among a mob of uproarious rioters.

And yet, though jeered at and joked about, the Policeman is readily enough referred to, and yielded to; and with all the fun poked at him, there is an under-current of sound admiration of the really valuable body of men who have been trained up in England for the protection of the people. We are proud that the caped and truncheoned servant of the order loving section of the Public, is found equal to the duties required of him; while our love of freedom and independence peeps out in the feeling, often unmistakeably shewn, that we will not have his powers made too oppressive, or his style of carrying them out too dictatorial. We admit the necessity of control, but will not have that too thorough; and we believe it a fact that the military training of the Metropolitan Police goes on within high walls, and unseen, lest the people should resent their being brought to such a state of efficiency. It must not be forgotten however that this transition has been even in England recent. The pre-

sent state of our Police there is no novelty to us now, and yet it is scarcely half a century since our Home Police Administration was stained with the iniquities of Blood-money, and Bow-Street runners; while the Parish Constable was not more useful, or less venal, than the Indian village watcher. Police science is but thirty years old; it has struggled on step by step, it has even now its difficulties and opponents; but its results remain the noblest monument of the greatest Home Minister of this century.

But, if our Home Police come in for a share of the antagonism which the mere existence of such officials seems to create; our Indian Police have been vilified and abused till the whole vocabulary of vituperation has been expended. There has been no atrocity of which they have not been accused, and their lives have been popularly supposed to be a constant scene of plunder and oppression. The Torture Commission however gave a shape and persistence to the evil repute of the Madras Police which other portions of India escaped. An enquiry conscientiously undertaken, though it did not produce the dreadful evidence anticipated, still showed the existence of a serious evil and foul blot in our administration, and formed a safe and acknowledged basis of attack on the deficiencies of our rule. Observers were startled at the tremendous civil power wielded by an official in whom the Revenue, Judicial, and Police Administration were combined. The truth is we were measuring Indian matters by English standards. The torture was doubtless an important element. It was the prominent, cruel result of a state of rule which was imperfectly understood by the Home mind; but the real point was not the mere suppression of a revolting practice, it was in fact the old western pressure telling in one of its numerous forms on our Eastern conservatism.

The determination to govern India on the more catholic and liberal principles of our Home Institutions, was taken long ago. The fierce denunciations of Burke on the trial of Warren Hastings, may be said to mark the epoch, and since then it has been bravely carried out. But the advance has been fitful and irregular, and the strides have all been made under the pressure and excitement of redressing a wrong, such as the one we are now referring to; the immediate and palpable appeal to our feelings hiding the great political question at stake. In Eastern minds the idea of rule is associated with an individual, not, as in England, with a constitution; and there are some who say that the time has not come when we can dispense with this relic of despotic Government. It is fruitless to discuss whether this be so or not; for we may make up our minds there will be no



backward steps now in our Indian History. There may be little side streams which will manage to conceal themselves for a while, and remain in their old course. But the great flood of Reform is on us, gaining strength every day, beyond our power of arrest already, but let us hope not beyond our power of guidance yet a little longer. When the mouthpiece of Government has announced that Her Majesty's advisers consider that the natives of India should be admitted into the Council, it behoves us to see that our Administration at lower points in the scale, is in accordance with the spirit of so liberal a concession.

We must set our house in order, for, depend on it, these Councillors will not be content to be individual examples of our catholicism. They will claim, and rightly claim, that the principle acknowledged in their existence in such a position shall be carried out in all its integrity, and with the overfulness, not unlikely, of a new found privilege.

We cannot deny, however, that apart from the torture or the political question the Madras Police was in a state which required immediate correction and improvement. This might easily be shown from statistical data, but they are dry reading, and it is sufficient that we acknowledge the past results of our Police action to have proved only its utter inefficiency either to prevent or detect crime. We propose to describe the scheme, from which we hope to obtain the required improvement. But prior to doing so, it will be as well to sketch, in its general features, the ancient police under native rule, because we propose to utilize the existing village police, whose origin dates long before our occupation of India.

In this ancient system we find the rudiments of a sound principle, that is, division of administration. We find imperial Governments maintaining a variety of bodies under different titles, for foreign conquest, or to repel foreign aggression; while the people were, to a large extent, left to their own resources, as regards the domestic police. But this, without the guiding influence of a strong Government, and with a society constituted as in India, became a system of expedience to palliate the great evil of a partially civilized state, viz., the preying of the strong on the weak. These latter, unable to protect themselves, and unprotected by Government, were forced to subsidize the professional classes of robbers, whose right to prey on their neighbours was acknowledged, and whom weak Governments could not repress. The utmost disorder under the name of police resulted. The people took refuge in paying the robber, from the chieftain to the common village thief. These again engaging, not themselves to plunder, or to allow the de-

predations of others; and in case of theft occurring to recover the property or make good the value. The touchstone of Indian Police became responsibility to make good losses. The system therefore was one of compounding felony; not prevention or punishment of crime. The people in practice were unable to enforce complete recovery of their property, and the chance of the wolf letting away the whole of the lamb progressively diminished. The general fees came to be looked on as insufficient for individual cases; and as these occurred the parties were severally obliged to offer a bonus to recover their lost goods. It was on a system of this kind that these classes gained possession of land, on which they paid no tax, or for which land the collective community made good the demand. They received a certain portion of all the crops, and upon houses, shops, trades, looms, flocks of sheep, and herds, they exacted a local rate. To the Governmental Transit duties, these classes added their own. Carts halting or passing within their limits had to pay, and indeed even now in many districts have to pay black-mail to secure their safe passage.

The personnel of this machinery consisted in the Poligars or great chieftains of the country who held the *Kavilli*, or Black-mail privileges, of their own territories, and of such villages in the neighbourhood as found it more expedient to conciliate than to offend them. Another class were the head or *Menkavilgars*, a more dangerous body, as they were generally the immediate leaders of the working robber gangs. These had acquired black-mail privileges over single villages, or clusters of villages—frequently as many as fifty or one hundred. Subordinate to one or both of the above, and always acting as their agents, were the common village thieves. These under the name of "*Kavilgar*," "*Talliari*," or other local designation, were provided with special rent-free lands, by the village community; and invariably levied exactions, on the crops, properties, and goods of their fellow villagers, on the usual understanding of keeping their hands from picking and stealing. This lowest class fulfilled the double duties of collecting contributions for the *Poligars* and *Menkavilgars*, and when necessity occurred, became the retributive pillagers of recusant contributors. We are not prepared to say that this gradation was everywhere present when we acquired possession of Southern India. Traces of the higher grades are to be found in all the districts, but fully developed in the Tamul country. The watcher thief however, with his vices and his exactions, was and is an institution present in every village of the Madras Presidency.

So soon as the establishment of the British power laid the

foundation of law and order, the pretensions of the *Poligars* and very generally of the *Menkavilgars* were found to be incompatible with good Government; and this branch of the system was authoritatively suppressed in the earliest years of our administration. Their rent-free lands were resumed, and assessed; their exactions from the people were forbidden, and in a great measure absorbed into the public revenue; and their interference with the police of the country was interdicted. The declension of their influence however has been very gradual. Curious anomalies are still present in every part of the country, and many a poor ryot has exacted from him, on the sly, a contribution which the authority and weight of the British Government has still failed to relieve him of. An influential landholder in the neighbourhood of the capital of Southern India naively acknowledged to the writer of this article, that the visit of the descendant of the old *Menkavilgar* was even now looked on as a visit from a "Devil"—he was paid what he demanded, and got rid of. In the district from which we write, it lately occurred that the *Menkavilgar* interdicted the functions of barbers, washermen, and milkmen, because the villagers, taking advantage of the protection of the new police, withheld a customary, though illegal, exaction; and it required the vigorous intervention of the Magistrate to vindicate the liberties, and restore the comforts of the people.

While suppressing the status of the *Poligars* and *Menkavilgars* we introduced a system which proved confessedly a failure. What is known as the Thannadar system was attempted, and the management and administration of the police of the district were placed in the hands of the judge—an error of principle under which success could not be looked for, especially when the influence of the deposed *Menkavilgars* was still fresh, and an unsettled state of the country interposed special obstacles.

In 1816, the Collectors of Revenue and their Revenue Subordinates—the Tehsildars of the Talook, and village Moonsiffs, became the Magistracy of the country. And in virtue of this office, as well as by law, the executive duties of the police were vested in them. The Stipendiary Establishment of Peons was transferred to the Magistrate, and the Tehsildars (from that time termed, in this capacity, Heads of Police); while the village watchmen were placed under the village Moonsiff. Thus the revenue and taxing, the Magisterial, and Police jurisdiction, were all combined in the same individuals. When to this it is added that they were the executive engineering Department of the district—with its system of impressment, and forced labor, it will be readily understood that a sad confusion of functions and duties occurred. Revenue and Imperial



interests necessarily took precedence of the protection of the life and property of the ordinary public. Inadequate means for the execution of great works, and for the collection of revenue from the innumerable payers under a Ryotwarree system, had to be supplemented from a body who ought to have been employed on specific duties of police. Over the working or supervision of the police, the European Magistrate had little control; they were practically at the disposal of the native Tehsildar. By law their supervision led up to the judicial officers of the district, and through them to the Fouzdaree Adawlut. Here we had Judicial Courts supervising Executive Police. But, added to this, we had the anomaly of the Board of Revenue exercising a kind of departmental control; and an appeal of a dismissed Police Officer lay to that body, which had no cognizance of the police administration. The village-watcher became the mere drudge and Revenue Bailiff of the village Collector; while the peon was irregularly employed on duties utterly incompatible, and not a few of a more private and domestic nature. Discipline and regularity of duty, which alone render police administration effective, were impossible; and it was no sin in the ordinary peon—perhaps not even in the Tehsildar—that he lost all landmarks of the principles of law, and used his police powers to further fiscal ends.

It is not only in its direct effect that the evil of this state of affairs has shown itself. Its results have told on the feelings of the people, and have had their share in the separation of the governed and governing body of this country, which has justified the saying, that there is no sympathy between the natives and their European rulers. Long accustomed to the capricious tyranny of a despotic power, the native mind still associates with Government more of the selfish principles of a conqueror than the Catholic system of modern legislation. An official who to-day comes to confiscate the goods and chattels of a ryot whose revenue arrears remain unpaid, and to-morrow to seize half a dozen people suspected of being concerned in a gang robbery, is naturally looked on, in both cases, as merely working out the will of a strong power, and the distinction between the ryot and the robber—the Government defaulter and the offender against public justice—is obscured, if not entirely overlooked. It is this which has caused the apathy of the native community in criminal matters; and has led to the complaints that no assistance is given by the population in bringing to light crimes of which they have cognizance. We say, they have no public spirit; the truth is, they do not yet believe in our public spirit. The vexatious delays, and want of consi-

deration which complainants and witnesses suffer from at our Courts doubtless increase this reticence. But the fundamental thing is, they do not believe us to be acting on public grounds, but for Governmental purposes. And yet the true exercise of the powers of a police is between man and man, not between Government and the people. The policeman does not properly represent the determination of a supreme power to suppress crime; he represents the will of his fellow-subjects that peace should be maintained. He acts under the common, not the statute law.

The system last sketched has likewise failed to fulfil the functions of a police, and, reviewed with our present light, it may be ground for surprize that success should ever have been expected.

From 1854, the Madras Government under the Presidentship of Lord Harris contended persistently for re-organization of the Police Administration; and in 1857 the Home Authorities granted their sanction for this, on the principles advocated by that Government. The model adopted is an endeavour to amalgamate the English County and Irish Constabulary Administration, and adapt it to the wants and peculiarities of this country. More distinctly stated—the change which is now being worked out in Madras, consists in elevating the Executive Police of the country into a distinct department; confining its functions to Police duties alone; divesting it in all its grades of judicial functions of any kind; and withdrawing it in every way from the fiscal and revenue machinery of the country. It is placed under the exclusive management of carefully selected European officers in each separate district; and its maintenance in a state of efficiency is supervised by a Departmental Head, in immediate connection with the principal Secretariat Officer of the Madras Government. The whole is brought into close relations with the village police, to which it is intended, if possible, to impart new vitality; and which, to ensure uniformity of action, is placed under the control of the District Police officers.

But it must not be understood that this separation trenches in any way on the functions and position of the Chief Magistrate of the District. Here is the vexed question, the misapprehension of which has stood so largely in the way of all Police Reforms in this country. We at once concede that the junction of the Magisterial powers in the hands of the most important officer of Government in every district under the Madras Constitution is a wise measure, which we would not only support but increase in power and efficiency. The Magistrate and Collector

of a Madras district is as it were the Lord Lieutenant and General Administrator of his Province. He combines in himself the powers of a whole Bench of Magistracy, and many other of the functions which in a constitutional country like England are diffused among executive bodies from the Home Secretary to the Parish vestry. He has his representatives and subordinates in every talook, and in every village, who will act as his jealous eyes and ears upon the operations of the police, and the feelings of the public regarding them.

In the eye of the law, the magistracy are responsible for the peace and well being of the country. This responsibility must not only be preserved, but be more rigorously exacted from them than in justice to them we have ever been able to do. Bearing in mind that *ex officio* the Magistrate is always the Head of the Police, his duty to watch and require a proper discharge of their functions in no way ends. For this purpose we place the local Superintendents of Police under his orders; and thus the district force becomes an improved instrument at his disposal for the prevention and detection of crime.

We are merely introducing that division of labor, which the progress of society has always rendered necessary in all administrative departments. It has become as impossible for an Indian Magistrate, with his numerous functions, to administer the minute details of a successful police, as it had become for a Bow Street Magistrate in England to work effectively the Police of the Metropolis. And experience has shewn us that we cannot entrust the subordinates in the Revenue Department with combined Police and Fiscal powers. The necessity of this administrative reform has been increased by the tendency of the legislation of the present century. The Magistracy in their simplest phase possessed very limited judicial functions. They superintended what Police there was; put down vagrancy; and on the occurrence of crime they were committing officers through whose hands the criminal passed to a jury of his fellow countrymen; or in this side of India to a judicial tribunal.

Legislation, following the demands of society, has elevated the magistracy to positions of high judicial powers and is still doing so; thus we have the progressively increasing anomaly of the thief-taker being the thief-tryer. The necessity of relieving the Magistrate from Executive Police duties, we conceive we have established. Some difference of opinion however has occurred as to the degree of separation required. But, after full discussion and mature consideration, the Madras Government decided that a combination of thought and unity of system and action



could only be obtained by a thorough departmental organization and direction. By Act XXIV. of 1859 then, the Government assumes general control of the police throughout the Presidency, and its administration is vested in an official styled the Inspector General of Police. The functions of this officer are analogous to those of Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, and Head of the Irish Constabulary; and to the lesser executive functions of the Inspectors of County and Borough Police, under the Home Department in England. The general government and distribution of the force, the classification, rank, distribution, and particular service of the members thereof; the arms and accoutrements, and all orders and regulations, are in the hands of the Inspector General. He arranges with the Chief Magistrate of the district the proper allocation and distribution of the Police; estimates the requirements of each province and the measures to be taken for the improvement of the village Police. He watches the introduction and maintenance of discipline, and preserves the uniformity of practice throughout the department. He thus becomes the informer and adviser of Government in all matters of Police details and Criminal statistics.

In each district he has one or more European officers, who are styled superintendents. In the judicious selection of these officers lies the success or non-success of the Police in each locality. The Superintendent is the Chief of the District Police Force, and of the Village Police. He is responsible for all matters relating to its internal economy and management. The maintenance of peace and prevention of crime devolve on him. He carries out the prescribed allocation of the force, and regulates the disposition of his men according to temporary requirements. He is expected to obtain authentic and confidential information on every subject connected with the peace and tranquillity of the country. It is his duty to keep the European Magistrate constantly informed of all matters relating to the well-being and management of the district in a Police aspect. He keeps up a close personal communication, not only with the Chief Magistrate, but with all his subordinates; who are in fact the working and committing magistracy of the county. It is difficult to describe how intimate are the relations between a working police and the judicial magistracy before whom they bring every case. They become our legal advisers and guides; and observing, as they do, the action of the police in the cases which come before them, they are in a position to exercise a wholesome watch and legal check, wholly independent of departmental supervision. The district is arranged into divisions, over each of which is an Inspector. He has charge of five or six police stations, in

each of which is a police party consisting of a Head and Deputy Constable and thirteen men, one of whom acts as a writer. Other sub-parties act as outposts with lesser numbers. An Inspector's range will vary from two to four hundred square miles, and he is expected to be constantly moving over his division; inspecting his parties; observing the mode in which duty is carried on; supervising the action of the police; and affording advice and guidance to the officers in charge of stations. In all cases of serious crime he proceeds to the spot; takes immediate steps for the detection of the offenders; collects and arranges the evidence before committing officers; and if need be, accompanies the cases to the higher courts, to see that their merits are properly laid before the judicial power. He makes a daily report of his movements besides despatching all the periodical reports required to keep the force in efficiency and to record the results.

The inspectors are the officers of the force, and we have adopted as a principle that this officering should take place from a grade of society which would not enter and does not pass through the ranks. We require a degree of intelligence and business habits, possessed of which persons would not enter the lower grades. But irrespective of these considerations, we conceive that in the organization of a large body of this kind the officers should be drawn from a grade of society whose sympathies are not too intimate with the class of men who form the mass of the force. A civil police force ought to have a social position in the sphere in which its duties lie; and great weight and influence is given to its action when its leading members possess naturally a good status in society. But we have some difficulty at present with regard to this portion of the force. This arises from the fact, that while for the ordinary duties of Police we require intelligence and judgment, as well as knowledge of the law and a liberal education, we are at the same time constituting a force, which may be relied on to maintain the peace against all disturbers, and occasionally to suppress local outrages. For these we require personal activity and a stout heart. We require the Officers to know the use of their weapons and to be able to handle and lead their men. No grade of native society in this country combines these requirements. The upper classes have taken to sedentary occupations; and an employment which has the color of a profession of arms is looked upon as below their acceptance, or at least as inconvenient to their feelings. But education is rapidly opening their minds, and we look confidently to their adapting themselves to the demand. We expect a

wide recruiting field in the educated masses, daily increasing, who are now pressing for lucrative and honorable employment.

It has been sometimes doubted whether we are giving sufficient organization and subordination of ranks to constitute a force that should have sufficient cohesion to cling together in difficult and trying times. Here we come to the difference between a Civil Police, and a Military body. For the latter the highest state of solidity is indispensable. But, we contend that in a Civil body this ingredient should not be contained for more than local and civil purposes. Did the occurrence of wide spread rebellion require the civil power to abdicate in favor of military Law, we do not desire that the Police Force should have an organization which would enable it to hang together in combined action against the authorities. Robbed of its European officers the sooner it melted away as an organized body the better. Among its detective and faithful members, abundance of spies and useful aids to the Military Force would be forthcoming. But, we must use foresight in avoiding such consolidation as might render our Police Civil Force a danger or difficulty in the field. Let us not have Police Battalions and Sebundy Corps, which are military bodies, under another name; bodies with military gradations and promotions, where the pyramid rises and is capped by a native commandant, who, while he professedly defers to, virtually supplants the authority of his European superior, and gives to the whole force his own personal tone.

The grades under the Inspectors are Head Constables on twenty rupees a month—six rupees of which is drawn as pony allowance; Deputy-Constables on ten and a half rupees—and 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Class Constables who receive respectively seven, six, and five rupees and a quarter. The force is worked in police parties as we have already mentioned. The stations of these parties are selected so as to command the principal roads, and are at such distance from each other, as that they shall communicate daily, by a system of patrol. The officer in charge of a party has under him an area of from 50 to 100 square miles, according to the population and circumstances of the locality. If the village in which the station is placed be of sufficient size to require a special night patrol, a portion of the men are engaged in that duty. The patrols just mentioned, which proceed along the roads towards the other stations, meeting similar patrols sent from them, require probably a third of the party, and at the station-house itself a portion must always be present. These are the regular duties of the party, but the occasional duties required of them are constant



and numerous. All summonses and warrants are served and executed by them, and by them alone. Prisoners have to be escorted, or if captured in the division men have to accompany them, to the committing officer, and often the Judicial Courts. Then, for the maintenance of peace at festivals, marriage processions, &c. &c. the police are required, so that the men are hard worked. The officer in charge of a station sends in a daily report of the work each man has done, and of anything of importance which has occurred in his range. Immediate action lies almost always with this grade, and on their efficiency very much depends. It is under their eye the privates work, either well or ill; and it is they who are directly in contact with the people. Their management and resource are constantly on their trial, and their fitness or otherwise very soon becomes apparent. It is of great importance that men of intelligence and undoubted respectability should occupy the position of Head Constable. They are obliged to take the first steps in cases—before the Inspector can possibly be present, and these often tinge the whole progress of the investigation. Their character and general bearing influence very largely the tone of the force, it is very desirable therefore they should be able to meet and communicate with the more respectable members of society on a footing of social equality.

But besides what we have described the police undertake other duties, as yet performed by the military, but which are more properly the province of a civil force. The treasures of the talooks (revenue divisions,) and the main treasury of the district are in their hands. They furnish guards in cantonments over Commissariat stores, and over jails and convicts at work. But in this latter their duty is strictly that of guarding. The internal economy of the jail, all connected with the management of the convicts there, as well as the laying out of their work and seeing they do it, lie with a Warder establishment, which for these purposes is maintained on a small scale, under the supervision of the Inspector General of Jails and his subordinates.

By this application of their services an immense number of petty military detachments have been done away with. The strength of the Madras Army has consequently been very materially reduced. And yet the available force in the main garrisons is probably little affected. Regiments being maintained complete at Head quarters are better under discipline, and more effective if required to act in their proper character. Thus

the regular troops may be limited to such as are required to hold the strictly strategical points in the country.

The men of the new police force are clothed in Khakee tunic and trousers of light material, with an ordinary native turband of red cloth. There cannot be a doubt of the advantage of a uniform. It quickly infuses in the men themselves something of an esprit-de-corps; and when acting in bodies, however small, it gives an appearance of unity which is not without its effect. The men are drilled, and taught the carbine and sword exercise. So there is a military tinge in the training, not intended to be carried so far as to render them dangerous en masse, but to fit them better to quell disturbances than the old untrained peon. The force in each district will be provided with arms, in a limited ratio to the number of men entertained. The weapon is a light carbine, but it will never be carried except on duties specially requiring it. The guards over jails and treasure carry on their duties similarly to the Regular Military; but the ordinary weapon of the police-man on his patrol is the English Truncheon. At night swords may be carried, but their constant use is not sanctioned. We have said that each district has its separate force under a Superintendent. The men are entertained to serve anywhere in the Madras Presidency; but it is obvious that an efficient police, must be in a great measure local, recruiting going on mainly in the district itself.

In estimating the force required for a district, its population and area are taken into consideration, and, to cover all the requirements of the force, one police-man to one thousand inhabitants, or to five or six square miles, will represent an average allotment. The men required for purely rural police purposes are not at such a high ratio. One to fifteen hundred, or two thousand generally suffices. Then for towns of large size—say above 1200 inhabitants—a special police at a heavier proportion is adopted; probably one to five or eight hundred persons. These are worked on the principle of the Metropolitan police namely, one-third on duty by day, and two-thirds by night. Separate allotments are made for Jail and Treasury Guards; and a Reserve is always maintained at Head quarters to meet sudden requirements at any point in the district. This specification of their duties, must not be supposed to limit particular men to a particular service. All are liable to any duty undertaken by the police; and in practice all are detailed indiscriminately. We have not organized any detective establishment. We hold every member of the force liable for all duties proper to a police officer. It is peculiarly demoralizing to the character of men, to be detailed on es-

pionage alone; and as a general rule our Inspectors and Head-constables are becoming quite competent to deal with crime in their respective ranges. But occasionally crimes of special difficulty occur, such as baffle the best efforts of ordinary minds. In a numerous force however, a number of individuals will always crop up, who are peculiarly gifted with detective qualifications; and when occasion requires their services are made specially available. They are detailed for such individual cases—but only temporarily—and at their conclusion return to the routine of their duty.

We aim at maintaining a system of accurate and minute Diaries, at every stage in the Force. We hope to establish that the village watcher shall daily report to the village inspector, the occurrences of each village in his range. This being recorded, is submitted to the station officer in charge of the section. From each station-house there is daily forwarded to the Head quarters of the district a roll of the employment of each man of the party, for the day; to which is attached the occurrence sheet, embodying the information from the villages, in addition to any obtained by the patrols, or any steps which may have been taken for the detection of crime by the regular constabulary. The Inspectors also report by diary their movements and operations of whatever character. To persons practised in police administration in this country, the exceeding difficulty of obtaining precision in this matter will be easily understood. We only profess to have it yet in its rudiments. All are only beginning to learn their profession. Few know what to observe; and still fewer have the facility of recording it. But towards this we are working. And, indeed the full development of the system is being pressed upon us, from the perusal of these documents being, in some districts, constantly required by the Judicial Officers. These reports are police records, and not of course matter of judicial evidence. But, practically the Courts and Magistracy are feeling their value as extra-judicial records of the features of the case as it occurred, and of each subsequent step taken in disposing of it.

We have sketched the constabulary, its constituents and allocation with its relation to the Magistracy. We have now to bring it into connection with the village police, and with the people. As before stated we deprived the village watchers of their natural officers—the *Men-Kavilgars*; and after failing to effect an improvement by placing them under the peons in the Thannadar system, we transferred their official allegiance to the Moonsiff, or Revenue Collector of the village. We absolved the village watcher from all responsibility for the restitution of



property, and thus removed the sole motive he had for vigilance. And, to crown all his black-mail privileges were officially acknowledged, and his office was made hereditary. That an Oriental, under these circumstances, should take to the personal activity which British Institutions expect from a Police officer could not be expected, and certainly has not been the result. The watcher threw aside his public duties for the private service of the joint landowners, and in this condition we find the village police, whom we are called upon to utilize. The only chance of doing so lies in placing their supervision in the hands of the influential landed proprietors of the locality. We cluster together the villages in an area of about ten square miles, and over them place a village Inspector. A distinct number of the village police are placed in his charge. He exercises general supervision over these prevents them from divesting themselves of their proper duties towards the villagers and sees that single individuals do not monopolize their services.

The village Inspector we endeavour to make our direct link with the people. The position is almost honorary, the pay being trifling; but we call upon the well disposed and influential portion of the community to assist here, in an organization which has for its object, mainly their own good. We make the appointment the result of election, and though every individual vote cannot be obtained, we generally manage to get the sense of the people on the respective candidates. Of course there are many close Boroughs, where some Aristocrat carries his nomination without opposition or demur; but in others the canvass is often brisk and well contested, and in all cases we keep back any Government influence which might sway a decision one way or the other. The village Inspector once appointed, it is generally safest to leave him to select his own watchmen. These have the cluster of villages divided amongst them, and have each evening to report to the village Inspector the state of their ranges. He again sends a written report to the officer in charge of the section to which he is attached. These reports are recorded in the station house, for the Inspector of the Division to examine, when he next visits it. At such time he compares the village Inspector's reports, with those of the Head Constable to the District Head quarters, to see that the existence of crime is not suppressed. He, as well as the officer in charge of the station frequently inspects the outlying villages; at once to acquire a thorough knowledge of the country and people, and to observe the working of the village police.

In commencing work in a district the Superintendent has necessarily to proceed with some caution. For, however sa-

tified he may be of the correctness and justness of the change he has to carry out, and however sure he may be of the assistance of the Magistracy ; it is necessary that the innovation be freely put before the people and the old peons, that the distrust of the former and the resentment of the latter be not roused against him. In the present day the stereotyped mind of the native has been shaken and disturbed, to an extent never before known. The generation which remember us adapting ourselves to their ideas, instead of trying to shape them to ours, have not died out ; and a feeling of expectancy of some great attack on their old ways, is lively and keen. It is not so much that any individual measure of Government can be shown an outrage on their belief or creed. But they see the tone of our rule is changed ; and the spirit of our movements may lead us some day, they conceive, to more plain dealing. Accordingly there is found in introducing the new police, the usual amount of exaggeration and disbelief, and our first object was to make our mission understood. And naturally, as to those most interested, our attention was directed to the old peons. In the district from which we will draw our example, the peons were in very large numbers ; and from the wealth of the population had a very pleasant time of it. They are in all districts under the immediate orders of the Tehsildar, that is, the native civil officer in charge of a talook, or division of the district. Being employed on the compounded duties of Revenue and Police, there were no specific men for specific duties, or systematic detailing even of numbers for a particular purpose. It naturally followed that very many did no real Government work at all, and that the faintest approach to discipline was not to be found. Their monthly pay was three rupees and a half, and we now offered them six, which must have been an attraction—still they could scarcely anticipate with pleasure a system where the daily duty of every man is laid down, and a report required that it has been done. Accordingly it was found they were full of doubts and fears. They argued on the never failing basis of the native mind, that from time immemorial peons had never worn uniform—and why should they now ? They strengthened this with the remark that a dark dress was unlucky. Again, they had heard of a topee, a hat, or some English head-dress which they would be forced to wear. Further, that they were to be sent to China or Burmah, and that it was absurd drilling policemen merely for local work. It was replied, that the dress was a protection ; every one could readily recognize his official position, and that it assisted his detective duties at night. That for men who were sometimes to carry fire-arms, it was

surely necessary they should know their use. And, as to their going across the water, there were disciplined sepoys for that, whom Government would certainly take in preference to the half drilled lot, they, the policemen were likely to be. The map of the district was spread out before them ; the number of men proposed to be put in each of the villages and towns was read out ; the general principle of the scheme and its proposed working were explained ; they were even asked as to the selection of the stations and the feasibility of the arrangement generally. This brought out the thing more thoroughly to them, and disarmed the change of half its terrors. It was necessary to take up talook after talook otherwise a dangerous interregnum would have occurred. In all the talooks numbers of the old peons joined. There was more or less coquetting everywhere, but by a little patience and by giving them time and full opportunity to talk off their objections, they saw they could not do better than fall into the ranks which were attracting candidates from the ordinary population, who threatened to swamp them if they did not make up their minds quickly. It was not time idly wasted, which had been devoted to gaining them over to our side. For, a widely diffused and numerous body like the peons had very considerable means of swaying public opinion. Their duties had necessarily brought them into intimate connexion with the people ; and often employed as the mouth-piece of the higher authorities in the district they were in a position to give a bias either for or against the new scheme, which would have materially affected its early success. Besides, doubts would naturally be engendered regarding that employment which a whole establishment of officials would not enter ; and an evil repute attach to a body whose every member derived his own maintenance by taking the bread out of another's mouth. Again, the people would be less disturbed by the new organization, when they saw their old acquaintances as the agents to carry it out.

All these were not slight considerations, nor is the point involved of narrow application to the particular case. Attention to details is not a less valuable portion of legislation in India than the enunciation of principles. With a people so easily moved and misguided as our Eastern subjects are, the mode in which a measure first comes before them, decides very often its career for many a day. We will meet with misapprehension in almost all our advances. But we should not make up our minds to disregard that misapprehension ; rather let us take the trouble patiently to remove it.

Having told off the men for a talook, which may be ready



be taken charge of; the Superintendent proceeds to each station, one after another, and there installs the party. Previous to this, he has, through the Collector or his subordinates, announced his wish to meet the principal landowners in the neighbourhood, and he generally finds a large attendance of all classes. His object is to show them that a good police is a matter which concerns their comfort closely, and that its efficiency depends largely on the support and countenance extended to it by the well disposed. The intention of Government in the new system being explained, the details are entered into, and their advice is taken on many local points, in which obviously they are the safest guides. The willingness with which they state their views, and the shrewdness with which they defend them against the exceptions of others, are quite remarkable. And, when they are called upon to share in the work as well as the deliberation, that is to appoint the Village Inspector for their circle, the scene is most interesting and instructive. As large a number as possible of the residents in the circle is collected; and the duties and position of the Village Inspector are explained. They are then asked to nominate from amongst them some one whom they think suited for the post and who may be willing to accept it. They generally require a little leisure to talk it over, and retire to some shade where they sit in conclave and discuss the merits of the different parties. Having made up their minds, they present their nominee, with, not unfrequently, the reasons which have influenced their choice. They are then told that although they are not officially connected with the police their influence and assistance are looked for in the cause of good order, and to strengthen the hands of their representative. The village watchers are then brought forward in whose selection they take a part; after which they usually sit down to hear the Village Inspector instructed in his duty. Nothing can be more valuable to the Superintendent than these open receptions of all classes in his district. Thus passing from talook to talook, he learns the politics of every village, and gains an insight into the party-life of these little Peddlingtons which will prove of immense service to him, in the performance of his duties.

Having secured the interests of the principal individuals of note in each locality, we have them, to a considerable extent, pledged to our success; and by frequent open and frank communication and consultation with them we can bind them still more closely to our side. In cases of violent crime the police will generally have the sympathies of the public with them. But, until now, these have had no means of taking shape, nor

has there been any sustained endeavour to enlist them. This great point we have gained, and we hope, in time, so to use our means as to have, instead of a police acting per se, a body acting in concert with all the influence lent to it by public feeling.

As far as the system has gone, it has proved thoroughly workable, and has been much more easily introduced than had been anticipated. There has been no jarring between the police and the magistracy as had been predicted, and every day lessens the chance of this. The real strength of the police must mainly lie in the support it receives from the Magistrate. If it fail to gain his confidence, it will find itself powerless indeed. This mutual action is not necessarily a matter of any difficulty. The ends and aims of the two officials are identical; and while the Magistrate guides, advises, and if need be checks; the Superintendent has full scope for the exercise of his judgment and energy, in the daily working mass in his charge. The department has not been long enough at work to enable us to give any reliable data as to its efficiency in the prevention and detection of crime, but from what we know to have been done, we confidently anticipate a marked improvement on the old police will be visible, when the statistics over a fair period come to be made out. In many points, however, improvement in the administration of justice is beginning to show itself. We may for one thing feel certain that very little crime is now suppressed, whereas formerly, we believe we are not wrong in saying it was the rule, not the exception. It is found that the preliminary stages in cases, are now rapidly got over, whereas under the old regime it was exactly at these points the vexatious delays most occurred. The new police, when they arrest without warrant, must bring the prisoner before a Magistrate within twenty-four hours. With him is handed in a document called a charge sheet, showing the crime with which he is charged; the name of the complainant, the witnesses, and the police officer who arrested him; the hour he was brought to the station house, and how long he was detained there. The Magistrate on the same document enters his decision, makes any remark that may be called for on the conduct of the Police, and sends the paper to the Superintendent of the District. It is so even if the prisoner be committed to the Courts, and it forms an admirable check on the dilly-dallying which used to occur over the police stages of our criminal cases.

At the Courts is an Inspector, who takes charge of all cases coming from the Magistracy. He sees all the witnesses are present, that the papers are complete, and that every thing is ready to

be submitted to the Court, when the case is before the Court he remains to supply any deficiencies, and to receive any orders on its further investigation. Precisely as the evidence comes up more fresh and recent, so cases are more rapidly and satisfactorily disposed of. The enormous proportion of acquittals to convictions was most apparent in the decisions of the Courts; indeed exactly as cases progressed a step higher so was the greater chance of the escape of the accused. It should have been precisely the reverse, and it can only be accounted for on the supposition that every day's delay, weakens evidence.

In the persistent tracing out of crime a vast improvement is apparent. There is a life and purpose in the way in which the police set to work, which is due to careful supervision and guidance, and a wholesome spirit of competition and rivalry. The thorough departmental organization, the close watching of the Magistracy, and the comparative publicity of police proceedings, act as ready checks on that over exercise of authority, which an excess of zeal might lead to. No point is more earnestly dwelt upon by the Inspector General, and none more constantly impressed on his subordinates, than the absolute necessity of forbearance and discrimination in the action of the police. And, although their presence is everywhere more directly felt, we honestly believe that the people experience less actual interference than they did on the old system. There is no hole and corner work now. If the police do wrong, it is patent, and is promptly remedied.

But—if a desire to have a police party stationed in their village, may be held to show that the people find the police a protection and not an infliction, then, we can vouch for it, that this is the satisfactory result. There is no desire to shirk having the stations; on the contrary, applications for their establishment are common. And that these applications are sincerely made is proved by the fact that the inhabitants have in many cases built a station house for the party. One effect of the system of patrol which is carried out all over the district is, that small communicating parties are located at convenient distances on roads which pass through poorly populated portions of the country. An immediate result is increased traffic on the road, the police-station villages being convenient halting places where the bullocks and goods are safe from depredation. Having become halting places, small shops are opened, and the people collect from the neighbourhood.

The foregoing is a slight sketch of the work going on in the Madras Presidency. Because it is still on its trial—and in its earliest days of existence, we have written temperately as to its



results either present or anticipated. Its course in different localities is, and always will be, varied. But it is based on sound principles, is capable of wide application, and contains the elements of eventual success.

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- ART. IV.—1. *Reports on the Depredations committed by the Thug Gangs of Upper and Central India.* By Major W. H. SLEEMAN, Commissioner for the Suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity. Calcutta, 1840.
2. *Report on Budhuck alias Bagree Dacoits, and other Gang Robbers of Hereditary Profession, and on the measures adopted by the Government of India for their Suppression.* By Lieut. Col. W. H. SLEEMAN. Calcutta, 1849.
3. *Selections, Volumes I. and II., from the Records of the Bombay Government in the Police Branch of the Judicial Department.* Bombay, 1852-1853.
4. *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government in the Police Branch. Volume I. New Series. Reports and Returns relating to the Crimes of Thuggee and Dacoity; Correspondence relating to Professional Poisoners and to Act XXIX. of 1850; Papers on the subject of Confessions; with Reports on and List of Wandering Tribes,* compiled by Major C. R. W. HERVEY, 2nd Bombay European Regiment Light Infantry, Assistant General Superintendent Thuggee and Dacoity Department in the Bombay Presidency. Bombay, 1858.
5. *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government. No. XXI. Reports relating to the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal for 1856-1857 and 1857-1858.* Calcutta, 1859.
6. *Correspondence regarding the Thuggee and Dacoity Suppression Department.*
7. *Our Indian Police.*
8. *Memorandum on the Scinde Police.*
9. *Report of the Commissioners for the Investigation of the alleged Cases of Torture at Madras.*
10. *Report on the Police of the Bombay Presidency for 1858.*
11. *The "Friend of India" from August to December 1860.*
12. *Draft of a Bill for the Regulation of Police within any part of the British Territories in India to which it may please the Governor General in Council to extend its provisions.*
13. *Debate in the Legislative Council of India on the first reading of the Proposed New Police Bill.*

AN eminent public character, alas! but now gone from among us, observed in his account of a celebrated passage in the history of our country—that there were two opposite errors

into which those who studied the annals of history, were in constant danger of falling,—the error of judging the present by the past, and the error of judging the past by the present. “The former is the error of minds prone to reverence whatever ‘is old, the latter of minds readily attracted by whatever is ‘new.” Preserve we, in a consideration of what is before us, the happy mean, partial although we may on the whole be discovered to be to the conservative extreme.

“The whole history of the Thuggee Department has only to be read,” wrote an observant man still among our foremost administrators, “were testimony required to the tact and ‘intelligence with which its delicate duties have been conducted.” Exists there any one who would remove it from our Institutions, who will wade through that history? Does any one now think of reading those records—those accounts which moved our every sensibility, our pity and our horror, when first they wrung our hearts and horrified the world with the tale they unfolded,—that now lie in dusty neglect among our shelved archives? Are there many who now give even a passing thought to the man, aye, man in the noblest conception of the attributes of human being, who toiled wearied, and succeeded—but “never laid his head upon his pillow without praying that ‘God would in His mercy grant that the powers bestowed ‘upon him might be employed for useful purposes alone, and ‘not abused to the injury of the innocent.” “Providence has spared me,” continued he, “to see done far more than I ever hoped to see.” What was that? What did that benevolent but mortal being, dare to say had been achieved? Read his *ipsissima verba*—for we are indeed poring over those worm-eaten records,—may they inspire us with a just appreciation of the task we have undertaken, and convey to our humble endeavours an earnestness in the cause we would advocate “a cause of simplicity against ‘craft—of security and life itself, against certain robbery and ‘probable destruction.”

“Not a body of the many hundreds of travellers who every year fell victims to these gangs of assassins, was found that did not prove a fruitful source of profit to the native police and of oppression to the innocent people of the surrounding villages; and if the suppression of this wholesale system of murder, which had been pursued for so many generations over the whole face of our Indian Empire, be estimated merely with reference to the relief thus afforded to the people from the oppression of the police exercised on that ground alone, the Government under whose auspices it had been effected, would be entitled to the gratitude of mankind. That it has been attended with no *éclat*, is true, because it has been effected with the quiet and unostentatious support and encouragement of philanthropic rulers, and by the labours of a few public servants whose successful exertions could add nothing to the reputation of any influential class and thereby



enlist their self-love in the cause. Upon the broad shield of that self-love how many are borne on through evil as well as through good report to wealth and honor, for enterprises which have resulted in no good to mankind, or to any portion of it, save that influential section whose self-love has been attended with ten thousand times more of suffering to the innocent, than this which has rooted out from among a hundred millions of people, an enormous evil which had for centuries oppressed them, and from which it was long supposed that no human efforts could relieve them !”

Thus wrote the late Sir William Henry Sleeman when at the head of the Thuggee Department, and it were almost an insult to his memory to essay to enlist finer language in a description of the institution over which he so anxiously presided, the blessings that attended whose efforts were so patent and so affecting. We will confine ourselves therefore to the images the records of it present to our admiration.

The late Honorable Court of Directors, had urged upon the Government of India that they “knew no reason why some effective measures should not be adopted by an able and zealous magistracy with a sufficient police establishment, for the suppression of such frightful evils.” The machinery put to work accordingly, soon the Government of India “was happy to express entire concurrence with the just eulogium passed by the Agent to the Governor General, on the zealous and meritorious exertions” of its chosen chief, Captain Sleeman, and was satisfied that “aided by so active and intelligent an officer, nothing would be left undone to ensure the accomplishment of objects of such importance to the interests of humanity ;” and presently when a spirit of economy prompted an opinion that sufficient had already been attained, with the full spirit of the philanthropy that has always distinguished the Government of India, it was promptly met in memorable words, the wisdom of which we would hold up to Indian rulers to the latest day antecedent to the great interregnum we all devoutly look forward to. For let all the world become Utopia, India will still be its Alsatia, until that day when the lamb shall indeed lie down by the wolf,—the Thug, the Dacoit—India’s normal miscreants, who may now in one sense be said *hurler avec les loups*,—can leave unmolested their fellow human beings.

The high roads throughout India were infested. Scenes of horror such as seldom before had been described had been brought to light and substantiated by “evidence the most conclusive and undeniable,”—and, “to stop the prosecution of the measures adopted and still in progress for the destruction of such formidable criminals, would bring back the evils with redoubled violence and would enable them to prosecute their

‘horrid avocations with additional security arising from the knowledge that they had acquired by woeful experience, of the tactics that had been adopted to defeat them.’ It was consequently decreed to be “absolutely necessary to retain the invaluable ‘services’ of the special Agency ‘employed in so humane a work,’ the protection of the general community.

“Thuggee had been an institution for ages,” lately wrote an able public officer, “a gigantic crime, pervading the length and breadth of the land. Neither individuals nor Governments ever troubled themselves on the subject, and no Government but ours would have ever attempted, or have succeeded in suppressing the monstrous crime.” “It is well to remember the fact,” continued he, “that the victims were to be counted not by hundreds, but by tens of thousands. It was not like a battle or an epidemic in which a certain number of lives were lost, and the loss was forgotten in a long interval of peace and security,—but every year added to the victims of Thuggee—every year people passing from one town to another disappeared mysteriously, yet there was no clamour, no popular commotion, no effort made, though the existence of organised bands of murderers called ‘Thugs’ was matter of public notoriety. It is very remarkable because want of natural affection is certainly not a characteristic of the native; and yet husbands, fathers, and children, disappeared and there was no stir made. Marvellous apathy! shewn too, by the same people, who with no better excuse (in the opinion of some,) than a transparent lie about a greased cartridge, have raised a commotion which has occasioned unheard of misery, the loss of tens of thousands of lives, and of millions of treasure.”

But to proceed to a more comprehensive testimony of what the Department has been about, what it has done and is still effecting.—*Omne verum utile dictu.*

“The Department has been so admirably established,” wrote the officer lately appointed its chief in one of the reports before us, “its rules so well devised for its efficient working, ensuring when acted up to, complete security to the innocent in the pursuit and punishment of the guilty, its efficiency has steadily sustained such long and universal tests—and ever elicited and maintained such universal praise and acknowledgments even from Foreign European countries—its efforts have been so unceasing, and the general superintendence over every branch of it so vigilant, instant, and uniform, and its successes so remarkable from the earliest period of its formation by its originator Major General William Henry Sleeman, that I can on this subject only add my own testimony extending over an experience of 12 years, to its peculiar and entire fitness for the attainment of the great ends for which it was originally established. If the system according to which its operations have during so long a period been conducted, be strictly and with every jealousy acted upon, its operations may in my humble opinion, be safely extended to the suppression of every description of professional criminals.”

“As a political machine perhaps its utility has not been considered;—but it may unquestionably be asserted, that the successful proceedings of the department, extended as they have been into the territory of every native power in British India, must have operated with very beneficial influence upon the minds of the population of the country, at the spectacle

of the unflinching and continued arrest and punishment, by a special and peculiar agency, without reference to jurisdiction, of the greatest and most dreaded criminals—whose existence throughout the land, and depredations and atrocities everywhere, had hitherto created such terror in almost every region, that while some chiefs considered it safe to harbour, and others more questionably to recognise them, no traveller deemed himself secure from falling a victim to villains whether Thugs, Poisoners, or Highwaymen, nor Sepoy returning from a Furlough to his distant native village, certain that he should escape them,—no peaceful householder was exempt from a nocturnal visitation from a gang of robbers, farmer sure of the harvest he had gathered on his threshing floor, nor zemindar or landholder safe from their exactions; no guard of sepoys over treasure whether in cantonment or in the field, without danger of being attacked by bandits, nor bride without some apprehension even in the midst of her marriage procession, whether it might not presently be dispersed and all ruthlessly despoiled of the ornaments they were bedecked with;—the wayfarer was not secure from being poisoned, robbed, or cheated of his money, nor policeman or patrol from being cudgelled or murdered outright; the village watchman, was in doubt whether his own security should not be his first duty—which it generally has been, and countryman returning from the neighbouring market in fear that he might be waylaid and plundered, or deprived of his purchase or his money by some dexterous knave;—the money changer coming home at dusk from his stall in the Bazaar, was not always permitted to reach it not deprived of his money bag; the Sahoocar or native Banker even within chained and barred doors, was still afraid that his premises might any night be invaded and his concealed closets and pits rifled of all his hoarded wealth, and no security felt any where while the marauders the Department has been employed in suppressing, ravaged every country with impunity—preyed in every town or village, infested every highway,—feared by all and checked by no one.”

Under such a contemplation of the good effected by this Institution, what can be said of any proposition to do without it, or to *merge it*, as we believe has been suggested, into the new Police—to dilute into water a drop of *elixir vite* for motives scarcely so much of policy, of political expediency, or even of economy our present greatest exigency, as of that mania—*centralization* which, as has been said, trusts nobody, and under its influence nobody grows.—“The time has not yet come,” recently wrote out the Hon’ble Court of Directors, “when the present arrangements for the suppression of these classes of criminals can be dispensed with, and we feel it necessary to renew our injunctions that none of the effectual precautions originally adopted for the security of the criminals, *be suffered to be in the slightest degree relaxed*,”—and with deference enquired the officer from whom we have already so largely quoted, “is any one prepared to bring forward any other institution having such laudable and humane ends, that would be better suited to the requirements of the country?”

“Never” declared the eminent man by whom it was so long



and so anxiously watched over—with the solicitude in regard to his Assistants and the faults they might be led into, of a parent over his children declared “ I will not attempt to excuse their errors or mine,” wrote he to the highest Authority. “ I merely endeavour to explain the causes in which they originate, and solicit for them a lenient consideration.” “ Never” certified Sir William Sleeman “ in the history of crime, and of the measures for its repression, have there in any country in the world been such few arrests compared with convictions, and so much security afforded to the innocent in the pursuit of the guilty.” Would that such could be said of the police of any country past or present! Would that an introspection of the history of the Police of India past or present, could afford us but the faintest hope of the same guarantee from the action of that future one we are about to establish!

Let us consider however what has been said of the present agency of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department—of its *speciality* beyond every other for the duties yet required of it. We feel that we had already almost said enough, and we may not, we would not, be irksome. But we have yet to deal with the main question,—has the time arrived in which the duties effected by this Department, may be entrusted to other ordinary agency?

We find Sir William Sleeman saying in one of the Reports before us;—“ The old Thug associations which have now been effectually put down in all parts of India, would assuredly rise up again, and flourish under the assurance of religious sanction, and the strong and almost irresistible disposition of the loose characters of the lowest class of India who have no property, to associate under such assurances for the purpose of taking what they require from those who have it,—and new ones would be everywhere formed, *were the strength of the special police employed in the suppression, hastily reduced, or its vigilance relaxed.* The class of poisoners by profession so common and destructive to life in all parts of India, has now been brought under the cognizance of this police by Act III. of 1848 with a fair prospect of being under judicious management, effectually put down like the other classes of Thugs. Some few classes of robbers by hereditary professions remain untouched in all parts of India, while the more formidable classes can as yet be considered as only partially put down.” And again;—“ a benevolent Government like that of India which rules paternally, *and cannot rule otherwise in India*” (the Italics are our own,) “ will not permit an establishment which has done, and is doing, so much good for the people under its

‘sway, to be diminished in strength or efficiency, till the ‘work intrusted to it shall have been completed, *which it cannot be for many years.*”

This was in 1848. From the other volume before us, however, printed in 1858 (Major Hervey’s reports,) we find that of the “few smaller untouched classes,” one had existed (discovered by himself,) *untouched indeed*, over the whole of Southern India, “so extremely formidable from their numbers and ‘from the boldness and intelligence displayed in their depredations” (we have a very full account of these Khaikaree robbers in the volumes before us,) that the late General Superintendent Colonel James Sleeman reported of them to the Government of India, that “in no class with which we were acquainted, had the crime of Dacoity been found more completely systematised and adopted as an hereditary profession, and ‘that in none would it be found more difficult of complete eradication.” We are glad to perceive so much has already been effected against that enterprising people,—but we shall have to revert presently to their continued depredations in districts of which the Police is held up as an example, *but where the Thuggee Department has not any jurisdiction.* Other “untouched” classes were the *Bedowreahs* of the North West, the *Beriahs* and *Meenahs* who exist throughout Central India and may be found in the Dooab, the *Mhangs* and *Ramoosees* of Western India, the *Wuddurs* of the Canara Frontier, the *Takinkars* of the Deccan, the *Pardhees* and *Kolhotees* of Khandeish and Berar, the *Wusawehs* of Guzerat, the *Bhar robbers* of Bombay, the *Gehars*—a large class of child-stealers of the valley of the Nerbudda, but now we believe discovered, and a *genus omne* of others of esoteric habits (we find them all mentioned in the printed reports,) whose existence as professional depredators was unknown when Sir William Sleeman wrote the above, but who have been brought to light by the unflagging researches of the Department—of whom Major Hervey states, “they practised what all had at heart and none looked upon as criminal,”—that “poverty urged them no more in their evil practices, than ‘the desire to earn a livelihood propelled every man to renewed efforts in his vocation,”—and from a minute appended to one of his Reports, of a Durbar of Dacoits held by him. We understand the accomplished rogues who attended it, all in their national costumes, at once fell to scrambling, pell-mell, over the platters of *pawn soparee* intended to be served out to them,—he shewed that anything short of life-long incarceration, “was ‘to them but a temporary calamity—temporarily affecting their liberty, not repressing their evil propensities.”

"Plundered parties," wrote he, "crowding my Court have reiterated the statements already on the records of the local Magistrates, of the sudden rushing into their houses in the dead of night, of fierce men with muffled faces or daubed with streaks of paint, holding lighted torches and armed with swords or bludgeons; of the remorseless rapine they committed; of terrified wives and daughters with lacerated ears and nostrils, injured wrists and ankles; of affrighted old men and women, and younger men with broken heads or sore from blows and buffets; of doors and windows broken down and closets and boxes laid open and gutted; rooms rifled; their household gods desecrated, their sanctities invaded, and themselves ruined, often past redemption, by ruthless scoundrels, whose excuse for such acts has been, that *such was their profession*. No succour at hand,—the village guardians concealing themselves, neighbours mute and in the deepest awe—they in terror had to succumb to every outrage and every indignity, uncared for and unhelped; till the noise of shouts and musket shots, the sounding of conches and drums, and the bombastic *entré* into the premises, of the village authorities *now* come to assist them, made them feel some assurance of the robbers being really gone and themselves left alive!"

"In the Bagulkote gang robbery, the owner of the house—a rich banker, but a feeble and aged man—being speared by a Dacoit—a young lad his grandson and heir, rushed forward to hold up the stricken man. 'Fifty Rupees over your share of the spoils if you kill him,' cried out the Naik of the gang to one of the bandits, and the lad too was slain on the spot. A nephew succeeded to the estate. Two of the Dacoits were hanged. The house was one day found in flames and was burnt to the ground. The nephew soon after died after a short illness. The husbandless survivors, forbidden by their laws to remarry and without any male heir, are now the sole representatives of the once flourishing firm."

"In the case of the Kullolee gang robbery, the plundered party declared that the robbers " essayed in vain to withdraw from the wrists of his son a pair of silver bracelets." A Dacoit thereupon suggested that his hands should be lopped off; another that his arms should be broken. A knife was produced when they prepared to do the deed, but again endeavoured to get the bracelets off by other means. "They dragged and pulled at them, and then tried by applying oil. Next they rubbed the arms over with rice husks, and at last succeeded in getting possession of the coveted ornaments, only after they had excoriated and lacerated the poor lad's hands." They treated similarly a little boy in the Butgeera Dacoity, and in the same way a young girl in a gang robbery in the Tanna Collectorate; and in a Dacoity at Hutnee, they were on the point of chopping off the feet of another young girl, in order to gain possession of a pair of silver chain anklets, but only desisted "an being implored by her mother to refrain."

"For such acts of pillage too, it has been exemplified that *others than the guilty parties have suffered punishment*."

"The suddenness of their attacks," wrote the Secretary to the Government of India in Colonel Sleeman's books, "enabled them to overpower resistance at the time, while their immediate dispersion after success effectually baffled all pursuit,—and the extent of country over which their depredations extended, and the rapidity of their movements, offered various impediments to any successful exertions on the part of local Magistrates to prevent their attacks, or to bring the offenders to punishment after the perpetration of their crimes," and to meet the difficulty it was resolved to vest the General Superintendent with sufficient powers to enable him "by a well directed system of research, to seek out the criminals in their



usual haunts, to lay open their proceedings and economy—to track their steps whenever they might set out on their expeditions to prevent if possible their success, or at any rate to pursue them wherever they might fly, and effectually to punish and suppress them.” “We hope,” said the Court of Directors to the Government of Bombay, “the measures adopted for the suppression of the crime of Dacoity, will be as effectual under the Bombay Presidency as they have proved in other parts of India where the same system has been pursued,” and writing subsequently they said, the total discontinuance of the crime would be “one of the greatest boons” in the power of Government to confer upon the community.

To speak then of the necessity for maintaining this admirable Institution as an exceptional and a distinct one *apart from every other Police system*, would seem under such evidence to be supererogatory. But we feel it to be still left to us further to shew the folly of the presumption that to the new Police might be safely entrusted the duties that hitherto none but this special Department had been found competent to perform. Let us hope that it is under no pique of such a sense of its special fitness for such duties, that those labor who by proposing its extinction would forget what was due to the people among whom we have been placed;—who would forget that it was *their* security we should seek—the boon in our power to confer upon them so well illustrated by the late Court of Directors. Be it far from us, who live among nations whose constitution is, as observed by the lamented General Jacob, to be governed and be commanded, to enlist private feelings at a distasteful fact. Let ours be the ambition to govern well and to do our duty,—an honest striving to do our best—every one in his respective sphere,—all beholding and applauding, assisting and upholding each other’s honest endeavours. These are perhaps commonplaces; but still we like to adopt them. “Thou art the man” was but common place after all;—but it was very affecting. In them often lie our greatest maxims. Let opponents consider what the excellent Sleeman wrote,—

“From one end of India to the other all have united their efforts to secure success to this great undertaking;—and so beneficial to the people of India has been the result, that there is, I believe, no part of their public life to which those who have had most to do in the work, look back with more pride and pleasure.” A similar sentiment was that of the officer who now occupies his place at the head of the Department. “A long line of illustrious officers of the Indian services,” lately wrote he, “some now in the highest position and power, have from time to time belonged to the Department, and I believe they would all be found to acknowledge that the greatest good they might claim to have been humble instruments in the cause of humanity, was effected by them while employed in the suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity.” He pointed to “Judges who have sat on the trials of cases sent up by this Department, to members of higher Courts

who have reviewed them, to the highest Functionaries of Provinces, Members of Council and Governors, who have looked into and examined them, and, when younger in their career of usefulness, have even occupied such humble places as Assistants to the General Superintendent."

In speaking of the organization of the measures necessary to be taken against Dacoits, which ended indeed in the duty being made over to the Thuggee Department, we find Mr. Mansell, lately Commissioner at Nagpoor, writing;—"Much aid 'in respect to information, co-operation, and police force, could be 'given of course by Magistrates; but the substantive duty of 'investigation and apprehension, *can only be effectually and safely undertaken* by ambulatory officers acting much in the way 'of the best part of the Thuggee Department, and seeing too 'with their own eyes and working with their own hand. \* \* \* \* 'In short the police investigation must be, I conceive, *entrusted to special hands*,—the trial of the commitments must devolve 'on special judicial qualifications; and the law must be altered, 'so as to embrace within its grasp a class of men who are 'scarcely less the common enemies of mankind and of social 'order, than the pirates of the ocean." In another place he aptly termed them "land pirates."

In a general Report written in 1856, we find the following to have been stated by Major Hervey, at that time the Assistant of the Department for the Bombay Territories.

"I may here add while on the subject in connection with the sufficiency of the means at my disposal for the suppression of crime, the extent to which Dacoity for instance was perpetrated by the enterprising robbers against whom particularly the operations of this Agency have been directed. I have stated that the total number of men of that class apprehended as Dacoits since 1849 amounted to 609. The number of Dacoities ascertained to have been committed by them amount to 1,151,—of which 703 have, on reference, as yet been authenticated. Of the above Dacoities *as many as 1048 took place within the Territories of the Bombay Presidency*. The property carried off by the Dacoits in the 703 authenticated instances, was to the extent of Rs. 546,659-2-10, of which a portion to the value of but Rs. 17,209-8-7 was recovered by the local Police—while the perpetrators of these Dacoities were discovered by them in but a tenth of the whole number of cases, although rewards from 50 to 500 Rs. had frequently been offered for their detection."

We have lately observed a tendency on the part of an influential Public Paper when considering the advantages to be derived from the proposed Police, to decry the necessity for the continued existence of the Thuggee and Dacoity Establishments. It would even advocate the intention of the Draft Act to absorb into the New Police all separate police or quasi-police bodies or establishments. We are impelled therefore on a subject of such intense interest to the people of India, to cull something more

from the reports before us. It is not our motive to weary. We wish only to convince those, who, it should seem to us from the insight permitted us into the question, have derived much of what they think or say on the subject, from an imperfect understanding of the relative merits of the case—New Police *versus* the Thuggee and Dacoity Department.

“Our Police system is an evil and so is your Department,” lately wrote the officiating Commissioner at Jubbulpoor to the present General Superintendent. “Both depend much on the Executive Officers; but I am of opinion that both are necessary evils, and where Dacoities become of frequent occurrence, that it is necessary to employ some more powerful Agency than that of the regular Police.”

The late Mr. J. A. Craigie, Sessions Judge at Jubbulpoor, addressed the same officer, observing that the Department had “relieved India from the atrocities of hereditary murderers whose crimes were quoted with horror in every country in the world, and whose sons were prevented from imbruing their hands in the blood of the present generation only by the retention of the Department as a part, *and a leading part*, of our Police system.” He added, my own experience of the department over which you now preside, is, that it has effected (with, in its earlier stages especially, the most insufficient means,) the most notable results that the police in India have ever worked out; and if its success be not daily spoken of now, it is because it has suppressed the system which it was called into existence to contend against. *The department must be maintained or Thuggee will in a couple of years be as rife as of old.* That particular part of the duty having been successfully carried out, the suppression of professional dacoity was superadded, and our jails, before the mutiny, testified to the success which followed your efforts; and that the right men were in the right places there, has been manifested by the part they have taken since their liberation by the mutineers.”

Again, the Resident at Hyderabad observed;—“I consider the Thuggee and Dacoity Department to have been altogether organized for an exceptional purpose, and because our ordinary Police and Criminal Courts, were found unequal to cope with the crimes it was intended it should deal with.” His experience, he said, “of the working of the department during 12 years in Hyderabad Territory, was altogether in its favor.” Colonel Joseph Graham, who for 17 years belonged to the department, remarked of it that it was “a system originated, organized, and successfully worked for many years by a mas-



‘ter mind like the late General Sir William Sleeman,— a system as nearly perfect as any institution could be, and which had been extolled by Lord William Bentinck (who forwarded it,) and by every succeeding Governor General, and by the best and ablest men in and out of India,”—that it had been— “the saviour of human life, and the terror of the sons of violence, and had outlived or surmounted, all the calumny that had ever been cast upon it.”

The present officer to whom is confided the administration of the Province of Sind, from whose letter we have already quoted, added the following additional testimony on the subject of the Department. Remarking that its “general working must depend upon the administrative ability of its European officers,” he said;—“It is within my knowledge that the Dacoity Department in the Bombay Presidency, first brought to light the depredations of organised gangs in the Southern Mahratta Country and also on two occasions shewed that innocent persons had been convicted and punished by a Sessions Court while the real perpetrators of the outrages for which they had suffered were professional Dacoits. It is also within my recollection that the Department at once brought forward some aged dacoits and some young members connected with them, who had commenced to rob in the immediate vicinity of the Head Quarters of the Department. So far as my experience of the Department has enabled me to form a judgment, I have always found it eminently efficient.”

A Sessions Judge of whose ability there are many proofs, also said of the Department. “As to the results of your operations in the Southern Mahratta Country, I need only state, that gang robberies have almost disappeared from the Calendar of the Sessions Court. In the years 1846 and 1849 while I was Assistant Judge in this Zillah, scarcely a month passed during which there was not one or more such cases committed to the Sessions. I have now been for nearly a year as Sessions Judge, and there has not been one dacoity or gang robbery properly so called, for trial before me. It is evident that this is chiefly due to your operations by which the tribes of Wuders, Korwees, and Khaikarees who at one time infested the country, were originally ‘demoralized’ and dispersed.”

The above convey high evidence of the value set upon the services of the Department, and would seem to us to be fairly put forth for consideration. But we have not quite done with the subject. Having endeavoured to grasp we desire to exhaust it, and to take our stand upon the result. It is plain we are ourselves a staunch advocate for the continuance of the

Institution. But we desire to show that we do not stand alone. We feel confident that we shall not do so when the time arrives for a final decision on the question, and we would therefore still follow up the speculations we have been led into in this article.

The *Friend of India* recently suggested, in noticing the success the "New Madras Constabulary" had lately met with in capturing a notorious band of Dacoits that had fled from Pondicherry into British Territory, that the first result of the introduction of the new Police into Bengal, should be the abolition of the Special Dacoity Commission and Establishments. We believe the zealous gentleman who is the Commissioner for Dacoity in Bengal, is very competent to answer such a proposal satisfactorily, much in the same manner and upon the same convincing grounds we have taken up in the defence of the existence of the Special Thuggee and Dacoity Department for all India. For, in the last published Reports before us relating to the suppression of Dacoity in Bengal, we perceive the following. "That the evil of Dacoity is not a light one, may be gathered from the Appendix F., which shows that during the year 1858, 499 cases of gang robbery occurred in the districts of Bengal and Behar, in which the almost incredible amount of Rs. 462,136-8-11 was plundered, the small sum of Rs. 7,290-2-9 was recovered by the Police, and of 2,901 Dacoits brought to trial before District Magistrates—\* were committed for trial to the Sessions Court, in which only 667 convictions were obtained. These figures show the *utter inability* of the ordinary Courts to cope with the evil." And again:—"Dacoity can be suppressed as was Thuggee, and with ordinary confidence placed in my office and approvers, I have *no doubt it will be*: but at present we are in a false position. Government must either virtually legalize the crime or the means of preventing it. *All ordinary laws and procedure have signally failed, and the public safety demands that extraordinary measures should be adopted.*" And with regard to the crime of Thuggee in Bengal, we extract the following remark;—"no steps have been taken to bring the thugs, who are at large in great numbers in the Morung, under the operations of my office, and I have cause to fear that River Thuggee—though not prevalent—still occurs." It may be well in connection with the above extracts, also to bring to notice the following paragraph in the same printed volume. "During the year (1858) 100 persons were arrested in Hooghly by the Dacoity Commissioner apparently for old offences. During the same period, the Magistrate

\* By some omission we apprehend by the Printer, the number committed for trial has been left out in this passage of Mr. Ravenshaw's report.

‘arrested 116 persons apparently for offences committed during the year. Of the former only 20 appear to have been released: of the latter 83 were acquitted: but it is not possible to compare the final convictions from the information given. The Lieut. Governor, however, notices this as a specimen of *the superior efficiency of the mode of procedure followed in the Dacoity Commissioner’s office, by which the unnecessary arrest of innocent persons is avoided.*” We would also draw attention to the account, in the same publication, as a *Dacoit Sirdar*, of one *Johnny Dick* alias Jonmamood, the natural son of a deceased Indigo-planter.

It is quite relevant to the subject to observe, that the operations for the suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity in Bengal, were, as an experiment, removed from the supervision of the General Superintendent, and placed under the direction of the Superintendent of Police, but that subsequently it was again found necessary to place them under a distinct officer, and the appointment of a “Commissioner for Dacoity in Bengal,” was created accordingly. We remark *en passant*, that the Superintendent of Police of the time—a very energetic officer—for no one has excelled Mr. Dampier in that office, reported, in proposing to make use of the Assistants to the General Superintendent in Bengal in operating against and procuring information regarding local Dacoities, then, as still, very prevalent in that province, thus; “from their official habits, their knowledge of the people and general talents, he considered them most peculiarly fitted to aid in the detection of local gangs, and in the general improvement of the police,”—a sentiment that was concurred in by the Lieut. Governor. To a question, however, about keeping up any part of the Establishment in Bengal, a Judge of the Nizamut Adawlut in Bengal observed, “I am disposed to consider that it would be inexpedient not to do so, because I feel almost certain that the crime of Thuggee would revive.” “In proof,” he further observed, “of the readiness with which Thugs return to their former occupation. I need only bring to the recollection of the court, the case tried at Allipoor in 1842, in which the Chuprassee of the late Colonel Presgrave (born of a Thug family, but believed never to have acted with Thugs,) and an old female attendant on Mrs. Presgrave after many years of employment in that officer’s family, had, on employment failing them, commenced or recommenced operations in Thuggee and strangled the unfortunate woman in whose house they were lodging at Allipoor.” These remarks were submitted for the opinion of the General Superintendent himself,



who, in recapitulating the results of the operations of his officers in Bengal, results, he said, "effected by a combination of circumstances so extraordinary that they could never be calculated upon were the crime to rise again, *and rise it certainly would were the officers who now superintended the means removed*," further submitted;—"The knowledge that these means are available at any point where signs of the crime are discovered, with their occasional visits to different parts, is sufficient; and under the efficient superintendence of the officers of the Department no evil to the innocent is now to be apprehended. But if the employment of these means *were to be left to the Magistrates of districts and the ordinary Police*, they might do much evil, and could do no good. Some would have to be sent to each of the thirty-five districts, and, scattered among ten times as many Police Thannahs, the Magistrates would have no time to attend to them, and would know nothing of their character, and little of their doings." When it was referred for the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor of N. W. P. who had much experience in Bengal, the reply was that His Honor entirely concurred with this opinion, and would "much deprecate the hasty withdrawal of the establishment." Only very recently we understand, has the advantage of a single Agency for the suppression for instance of Thuggee by administering poisons, now so prevalent throughout India and particularly along the Grand Trunk Road, been once more admitted by the same Government, on the ground that there was but one remedy for organised crimes of the kind. The efforts of the Magistracy might within their respective jurisdictions result in the detection of the offenders in one or more isolated cases,—but they would not avail for the actual repression of the crime. A single Agency was the only one calculated to cope successfully with it. But to go on,—the Governor of Bengal himself, however, would seem to have demurred to these opinions. He would not dispute them, but he considered "that to keep up an establishment merely as a terror to possible criminals scarcely justified the expense." The result was that the Assistants were kept on, but were attached, as before shewn, to the Superintendent of Police,—which again resulted, as already noticed,—in their *being again separated from the Police*, and placed under a distinct "Dacoity Commissioner." The following was the decision of the highest authority. "The Governor General is impressed with the necessity of maintaining a vigilant agency throughout the British Provinces, as well as in native states, *as the only means of effectually keeping down these bands of robbers and murderers*, who, although at present broken and dispersed, would

‘ on any relaxation of the vigilance hitherto exercised in watching and pursuing them, *not fail to re-organize their bands and recommence their system of crime.*”

We have shown above the objection the late Sir William Sleeman had to the employment of the Agents of the Department being left to Magistrates or the ordinary Police. It was one which we believe he entertained to the last, long after he retired from the Department. It should seem to continue objectionable to do so. The means of detection they present are apt, we apprehend, to be too readily made use of by Police officers, for ordinary purposes—for the investigation of accidental cases of crime—which was not the object of the formation of the Department. The late Court of Directors expressly forbade it. And, as we believe it to be a part of the proposed plan for the abolition of the Department, to *merge it*—as it is called—into the new Police, we are able to instance, out of perhaps many similar cases, an occasion in which a very zealous and an able Assistant Magistrate (now no more,) of a distant province in the Bombay Territory, when specially appointed an Extra Assistant to the General Superintendent and furnished with the usual means for carrying on his special duties as such, in his local magisterial capacity constantly employed those means in general police duties. It soon followed as was to have been expected, that innocent men were subjected to false accusations. Under the tutorage of the local Police, we are told, conspiracies were formed to ruin them. They only owed their deliverance on one memorable occasion, we have learnt, to the care bestowed by an Assistant Judge upon the case, in unravelling the combination. An order was very properly issued throughout Bombay, prohibiting the employment of the special agency of the Department as Agents of Police. It is obvious that except under the greatest precautions it would be attended with the utmost danger to the community to attach such Agents, who require a peculiar handling, to local Police officers who have not that peculiar experience. A system as frightfully vicious as that of Jonathan Wild and his myrmidons might soon be the consequence. So impressed, however, have the generality of Police officers been that they might be safely used by any one, and for any purpose, that we remember a proposal by one of them to employ some agents of the Department, against *sea robbers*! So apt in the detection of “land pirates,” why not put them to work against the pirates of the ocean? We have Major Hervey’s authority for a party of Hindoostan Dacoits who had never seen the sea, being captured by an inland Police functionary, on a charge of their being “*Ship Burners*” and belonging to the celebrated Bunder Gang of Bombay!

Usefully employed however, in other than their special duties, we are assured the Agents of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department may often be: but it requires tact and discrimination to do so, a knowledge of the tools to be made use of—and then only under the direction of their own officers. In a review in a Home Periodical some few years ago, of the London metropolitan Police, we remember a great crime having been successfully tracked out from a clue to it gained by the *flaunt of a gown* round the corner of a street. The detective was a criminal of the same class. None but he would have understood the value of the peculiar manner in which the person who wore that gown, turned down another street! We need not say that the detectives of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department belong to the professional criminal classes against which its operations are specially directed. Such men in the keeping and employment of, or conjoined with, the ordinary police of the country, would prove but sharp edged tools in the hands of those unskilled in their use.

But the *Friend of India* added an enquiry—why has not the Thuggee and Dacoity Department been abolished in the Punjab where the District Officers and Police are sufficient to check Dacoity? We think we may venture to answer why;—"The Lieutenant Governor thinks that we cannot dispense with the 'existing Thuggee agency.'" "When the Punjab was first annexed, unquestionably the crime had become widely rife. Cases are now rarely reported. To have rid the country of this system of secret highway murder is no slight achievement. It has been effected by that agency, and the Lieutenant Governor believes, that, sternly controlled, the same system may, under good officers, be safely continued." And in further token of the utility of the Department as a separate establishment wherever employed, we might add that it has come to our notice that a case of crime which because of its peculiar nature could not be dealt with by ordinary process, was lately—since the introduction into the Punjab of the new Police system,—handed over for investigation to the officer of the Thuggee Department at Lahore. A man was discovered to have personated a recruiting officer for Irregular Cavalry. From place to place he levied recruits. Having enlisted about 200 men, he marched them to Umballa where he was to present them to the *Sahib* by whom he made them believe he had been commissioned to entertain them. They had paid him various sums of money for the good offices he was performing for them—for he had even promoted some of them to Jemadars and Duffadars. Desiring them to prepare a *dolly* for presentation to



the European Officer, he left them saying he would go to announce to him their arrival, to do which *in proper style* he borrowed from one of them a horse and a pair of gold bangles. They were to await his return when he would convey them to his presence. They waited long—and at length discovered how they had been duped,—for he was nowhere to be found. The Thuggee Officer soon completed the case against the impudent criminal, and committed him for trial. The late investigations of the murderers of British subjects during the Mutiny, successfully conducted by the Assistant for the Department at Lucknow, and by another special Officer in the North Western Provinces *on the plan of the Thuggee Department*, are similar instances of the applicability of the special and exceptional Agency.

But more remains to be said. The *Friend of India* remarked of the “Madras Constabulary,” its fitness for the duty of capturing Dacoits. It is also generally said that the proposed new Police is to be based on the *Madras system*. We like to see a proper account given of a general measure,—to call things by their proper names. It aids the understanding of a subject to do so. The lately newly organized Madras Police was formed, however, upon the model of the Police introduced some years ago *in the Bombay Presidency*.

Sir Charles Napier had adopted the Irish Constabulary, before tried by him in the Ionian Islands, as the model upon which he formed his own Sind Police. They performed the protective and detective duties of the province. Lord Ellenborough purposed to introduce the same system into the Upper Provinces of India, separated from every other branch of administration. The innovation was negatived by the upholders of the Burkundaz system, which preserved to Magistrates all authority over Police matters, and it was brought to an end on that Nobleman's departure from the country, after but a few months' trial. But the Sind system survived. It has formed the model, with slight alterations suited to local requirements, *of every subsequent Police organisation in India*. Sir Thomas Munro in the Madras Territory had in 7 years convicted 94 per cent. of Police employés. Of 100 principal division or district officers, there had not, in that period, been more than five or six who had not been convicted of peculation. There were not ten men who had kept themselves from evil. Of the Madras Police at a much later period a Commissioner in the Torture Enquiry wrote ;—“ I have no hesitation in stating that ‘the so-called Police of the Mofussil, is little better than delusion. It is a terror to well disposed and peaceable people,

‘none whatever to thieves and rogues ; and that if it was abolished *in toto*, the saving of expense to Government would be great, and property would be not a whit less secure than it is now.’ Another declared ;—“the Police Establishment has become the bane and pest of society, the terror of the community, and the origin of half the misery and discontent that exist among the subjects of Government. Corruption and bribery reign paramount throughout the whole establishment ; violence, torture, and cruelty, are their chief instruments for detecting crime, implicating innocence, or extorting money, &c. &c.” Time enough for effecting a change ! The remedy proposed was a separation of the Police from the Revenue Agencies.\* Madras looked about herself. She beheld what her sister Bombay had already for some years been about. Sir George Clerk, now once more the energetic “straight as an arrow” Governor of Bombay, had, when formerly in that position, established a thorough reform of the Bombay Police. A gubernatorial progress through Sind had convinced him of the efficiency of the Police of that province, and he formed that for Bombay, not so much in accordance with that of Sind, as with its principles. The memoir of the Bombay Police printed upon its formation in one of the volumes of selections from the Records of the Bombay Government before us, contains a clear and succinct exposition of the whole subject. The preface to that volume points out to Police officers, the necessity for intercommunication of information and intelligence with each other—as much of the success of the *Thuggee Department* was owing to such an interchange between its officers. It was required that Superintendents of Police, while acknowledging the Magistrates of their respective jurisdictions as the Chief Civil Authority, should in other respects act independently of them. They were not to be directed by them,—and on all Police subjects were allowed to correspond direct with Government, under flying seals through the Senior Magistrates, merely that the latter might have concurrent knowledge of what was in progress,—not that they were able to control them. It was upon a consideration of the excellent results attending the Bombay system, that the authorities at Home directed the adoption of a similar plan in the Madras Presidency. In all main details essentially

\* We have wondered why the Bombay Government on a late occasion combined the duties of Commissioner of Police with those of the Revenue Commissioners ! We remember a principle enunciated that “Revenue was Police.” Establish a good system for the collection of Revenue, and a good Police system follows. But we thought the idea was exploded long ago. It is plain that the two agencies are elsewhere considered incompatible.

similar, "in principles of European command, unity of action 'throughout the country, and a complete separation between 'Revenue and Police duties," it cannot be said to have any other organization. Its principles are those that had already been some time in operation in Bombay, viz. "entire separation 'from all connection with the Revenue branch of the Adminis- 'tration, and also of the Judicial functions of the Magistracy of 'all grades, from the duties belonging to the preventive and de- 'tective Police; and thus drawing a clear line of demarca- 'tion between the functions of the Magistrate and those 'of the Chief Commissioner of Police; placing the superin- 'tendence of the Police of the entire Presidency, under 'the immediate and direct control of the Governor in Coun- 'cil, and the appointment of a Chief Commissioner in whom to 'be vested, in communication with the Chief Secretary to 'Government, the direction, discipline, and internal economy 'of the Police Force." As in Bombay so in Madras, when the new arrangements were completed, the police func- tions of the Magistrate were defined. We need not here go into the Police systems in the Punjab, the North West, Oudh, and in Bengal. All differed from each other. One grafted upon the original Sind mode grew unnaturally, and became the wild olive branch. In another the Sind system was travestied. In a third it certainly met the exigencies of the moment when it was suddenly raised *upon the Sind system*. It possesses, as does the Police of the North West, a protective element—if men, muskets, and powder, the three things of which the Indian Police World has been composed—leather or prunello—can accord protection: but it requires to a greater degree the other two essentials—the detective and preventive—although the preservative it has acquired by disarming the population. But *protection* it can—beyond what its own armed hosts present—scarcely be said to have accomplished, unless we have misunderstood what has transpired of the action of the Oudh Police in the late great *Ram Dyal Case* at Lucknow. As in the Punjab so in Oudh we believe a tendency was to be observed of a wish to revert to the *double* system of the North West and Bundelcund—*Military* under its distinct officers and *Civil* under Deputy Commissioners and Magistrates. "I cannot understand," wrote the Police Commissioner of the North West to a Dacoity officer, "why you should have sent me this report of a Dacoity." The latter had thought he did well to let him know of its occurrence. He did not know that it formed no part of the functions of the police to enquire into ordinary crime! In the last of the series again, (Bengal,) was the old system—



Burkundaz. All are now about to be reformed. Not at all too soon:—and the *Bombay Plan* is on the whole, that of the draft of the Act for the new Police now about to be discussed in Council.

Having thus shewn, we hope correctly, upon what the new Madras Police had really been constituted,—having we believe demonstrated, that it would be as hard to say of it that it was not based upon that of Bombay, as to declare that the new Provincial Police at Home, had not been grounded upon its older counterpart—the Metropolitan Police,—we would now, to follow out our argument, advert to the action of its prototype the *Police of Bombay* with reference to that of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department in the same territory. In Bombay the Agency of that Department has been in full operation contemporaneously with the local Police. As an auxiliary to the efforts of the latter, its services have always been acknowledged. We have already adverted to the hope expressed by the Court of Directors that the measures for the suppression of Dacoity might be as effectual in Bombay as they had proved in other parts of India where the same system had been pursued. “There can be little doubt,” at a subsequent period wrote the Secretary to the Bombay Government to the Assistant to the General Superintendent at Belgaum, “that this result (the ‘marked decrease of Dacoity,’) is due principally to your ‘exertions.’” The sentiment has we believe often been repeated. In Madras territory however, *in which the Agency of the Thuggee Department does not exist*, we have reason to believe that the crime of Dacoity exists to a very great extent. We know that it was but recently stated to be more rife there, *than ever it was in Bengal during any period of our rule*. We have seen indeed a statement limited to an enquiry for three years, that out of 3,737 cases of gang robbery of occurrence in Madras Territory, there were 784 authenticated instances, the details of which closely resembled the crime of Dacoity as perpetrated in other parts of India:—in which 21 persons were murdered, 117 tortured, 713 wounded, and 337 suffered personal violence. The value of the property carried off amounted to Rs. 429,720-6-6½, of which but Rs. 20,249-8-9 had been recovered by the Police. As many as 14,975 persons were supposed to have been implicated. Only in an eighth part of the number of cases were any of the culprits apprehended:—but out of 669 persons sent up for trial, 19 only were convicted. This referred to a period not very long antecedent to the introduction of the new Police; and such a state of things shewed, if nothing else did, the necessity that existed for a

change in the police system in Madras Territory. But it at the same time shewed, its police being so much on the Bombay principle where the Thuggee Agency was so valuable, the expediency of introducing within it the same auxiliary Agency for the same good purpose. For we have not heard of any particular diminution of the crime in Madras. We know it to be infested by professional gang robbers. But *non tali auxilio*, we must suppose from what the *Friend of India* would advance of its efficiency, is the opinion observed at Madras. We cannot here pass over, however, something very congruous with the subject, whether with reference to the Madras or any other Territory in which the same rejection of good offices would be followed. We observe it to have been remarked by a person very high authority, of the action of the Thuggee Agency in that portion of Bombay Territory once under his charge, that he could safely say, he believed the decrease of gang robberies to be in a great degree owing to the measures of repression adopted by the Dacoity Department, and was very decidedly of opinion that any relaxation of those measures would be attended with an immediate increase of crime;—he added, “*that a vigilant local Police might restrain local robbers, but that unless the local Police were excellent beyond anything he knew in India, it was quite incapable of efficiently coping with organized professional gangs robbing at a distance from their homes, such as were most of the communities against which the operations of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department were directed.*” Of this we believe a very recent example has been furnished in another large territory, where the evidence produced by the Thuggee Department of the existence therein of a certain class of professional robbers,—the same great confederacy that infests the districts of Madras,—was ignored by the officer in judicial and police charge thereof, on the ground that he had never heard of them during a career of upwards of 12 years!

We have now done with the subject. It cannot fail to command some interest. We do not deprecate new institutions in favor of old. For the new police has our most cordial support. The country wants it. Let it be at once introduced everywhere. But let us not forget our obligations to the great masses. Let us not subject them by the innovation by any specious novelty to a recurrence of the horrors from which they have so eminently been freed. Let the detective element of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department be preserved intact. So far from extinguishing that proved and trusted Institution, we would rather advocate, after all that we have been able to say of it, an extended scope being given to it. We would

bring the whole, wherever existing, together *under one head*. We would place one or two Assistants in every separate Police Province, one in every great native State. We would have the trials of its commitments, to devolve on a special judicial officer, and on special judicial qualifications. For experience has taught us that ordinary Sessions Courts have been unable to grapple with the most difficult cases turning upon the evidence of its approvers. We would certify to it the same free and independent sphere of action hitherto extended to it, and continue it, as heretofore, under the direct control of the Governor General in Council—*distinct from the Police of the country*. We would establish different grades of salaries among Assistants, to induce officers to remain in it,—and with a view to retain in it that peculiar experience to be acquired in no other branch of public employment, we would hold out to its officers higher expectations, if on that ground only, by adopting the recommendation of Mr. Ricketts in his Report upon the Revision of Civil Salaries and Establishments. We would lastly make it and use it as *the Police of India* for its special purposes. For there are many eminent persons who coincide with the opinion of the late Mr. Craigie, that “as spies, and as the most able detectives in India which their training and duties should make them, they might well be directed in addition to their present duties, to hunt down the miscreants of the Rebellion still at large. They might well be employed to accompany troops for the purpose of discovering the position of an enemy, and they would be of infinite use in detecting the treachery of false friends. Such work would bring the efficiency of the department prominently forward once more. Officers would be stimulated, traitors brought to justice, murderers to the gallows,—and the falling prestige of our Police would be restored.” But merge the department into the new Police, then let us be sure,—it is the warning voice of every one who has studied class crime in India,—that “*the recruiting of the now broken bands will again take place, and their reorganization will continue to perfect itself more or less rapidly and extensively, as the lapse of time allows matters again to fall into their natural and former state.*”

We conclude with one more extract from Sir William Sleeman's Book, although a former quotation was very much in the same language. As we revere his memory, so let his words have a place in our minds. “It would perhaps be difficult,” said he, “to point out in the history of mankind, any other single measure which produced so much of good, or removed so much of evil among so great a family of nations, or so many



‘millions of our fellow creatures, as that of the suppression of  
‘these bands of murderers by hereditary profession, which has  
‘been unostentatiously effected by the Government of India,  
‘chiefly through the gratuitous services of its political function-  
‘aries accredited among the native states. But this measure  
‘neither flattered the vain-glory of the people of any particular  
‘nation, nor enlisted on its side the self-love of any influen-  
‘tial class of powerful individuals; and has in consequence been  
‘attended with no *éclat*. It has, however, tended to secure  
‘to the Government the gratitude and affection of the people  
‘of India, and is a work of which that Government and the  
‘people of England may be justly proud.”

No *éclat* has indeed attended the Department. Its duties have, as the general tone of the papers we have been reviewing certify, been performed conscientiously, energetically,—but with a sense—a depressing sense—that, perhaps seldom occupying any prominent place in the estimation of authorities, looked upon as extra-judicial, mentioned often with sarcasm, and as often disparaged,—it commanded no particular attention and had still to meet every detraction, misprision, and misrepresentation. Hence perhaps the reason why its extinction would seem to be so easy of accomplishment to those higher in position who would counsel it. “Sympathy,” says a great writer, “is rarely strong where there is great inequality of condition.” But we would not think so ungenerously of those by whom the subject is about to be discussed. While, however, we trust to their mature consideration of the subject we have endeavoured to ventilate, we would not be thought to be praying for their compassion. Our persuasion of the utility of the Department needs no appeal *ad misericordiam* in its behalf. It stands high enough in public estimation to chance the present hazard. Its officers and its agents have everything to be proud of. Their claims, we feel assured, cannot be neglected. Our sympathy is for the people any change would most affect. We have added our warning voice to the experience of the past. It may not be in vain that we have done so, not in vain that we have taken upon ourselves a grave responsibility at an important crisis. Be wise therefore, oh rulers! But if all has been in vain:—if *self-love* and the distasteful opinion of the speciality of this Thuggee and Dacoity Department for its particular duties over that of any other Police Establishment—past or present—and we will be bold enough to add—*future*,—be allowed to have their sway, and the Department be doomed—*its elements not introduced into the New Police*,—we may venture the prediction that the crimes it has put down and continues to suppress, will, sooner or later,

break out again. We shall have undone a good work. The Department will be regretted. The people of India will cry out for its re-establishment. Government will lament the evil hour in which it was counselled to forego it,—and

*Extinctus amabitur idem.*

ART. V.—1. *Papers connected with the Establishment of Universities in India.* Calcutta. 1857.

2. *Calcutta University Calendar* ; 1858-59, 1859-60, 1860-61.

3. *Calcutta University Minutes* ; 1857, 1858, 1859.

RAILROADS, Electric Telegraphs, Universities in India! After that the deluge, we can fancy some old school of money getters and money grubbers saying. Establish railroads and who will use them? Of course the Brahmins and Kayusts will not enter a carriage to be defiled by the polluting touch of a sudra or a pariah. Money spent on railroads in India can only be thrown away. Wherefore then this waste? But the railway was opened, thousands upon thousands flocked to use it—and when the grand system of lines that shall connect the principal cities of the empire is completed we can only anticipate a success equalled in scarcely any country in the world. As in the beginning of every great enterprise, the promoters of railways were overwhelmed with argument, but like the English at Waterloo according to Napoleon's account, they did not know when they were beaten, and so—they just kept on. All they could do was to oppose opinion to opinion—belief to belief—and work on at the same time. At last the accomplished fact was the best answer to the incontrovertible arguments of their assailants. And now they need do no more than ask these quondam opponents, if by chance they live in a neighbourhood blessed with a railway at work, what would you do without them? The telegraph had not such a storm of opposition to encounter. The railway planned and partly opened, the telegraph followed as a matter of course. But as for establishing a University in India that was a notion beneath contempt. No one but a crackbrained enthusiast or a theorist run mad would ever dream of such a thing. And yet the Calcutta University has been established. And now in the fourth year of its existence, it is well that its friends should place on record the success which has attended it. We propose therefore in the following article to give an account of its establishment—the nature and results of the different examinations that have taken place—its present position and its future prospects, considering as we proceed any subsidiary question, that may be connected with the points we have referred to.

Was the state of education in India such as to demand or justify the establishment of a University? The dismal facts detailed in successive educational reports as to the lamentable deficiency of education in the country districts of Bengal and Behar



gave colour to the belief that however desirable a University might be, the time had not yet come when it could with any advantage be instituted. Men had not forgotten the startling details brought together in the report of Mr. Adam who in 1835 was appointed by Lord William Bentinck, as Commissioner, "to conduct enquiries into the state of native education in Bengal," in other words, to ascertain "with all attainable accuracy, the present state of instruction in native institutions and in native society," his instructions plainly stating that the Government "deemed it more important that the information obtained should be complete as far as it went, clear and specific in its details, and depending on actual observation or undoubted authority, than that he should hurry over a large space in a short time, and be able to give only a crude and imperfect account of the state of education within that space." Mr. Adam was the right man in the right place, thoroughly and carefully he did his work. Remembering the nature of his instructions, the most searching and rigorous enquiries were instituted. Difficulties were not passed over but grappled with and mastered; and as the minutest details received his own personal supervision, the result of the investigation was a report which for thoroughness, accuracy and consequent reliability can scarcely be surpassed. What were the facts brought to light? In a very few words let us bring them once more before our readers' minds. The number of children in Bengal and Behar of a school-going age (that is between 6 and 14) may fairly be estimated at 6,600,000. Of these, how many had been instructed or were receiving instruction? Not to draw the picture in colours of too dark a hue let us include under the term instructed all those who had received any instruction whatever—even though it were only enough to enable them to write their own names and that but imperfectly—and what was the result arrived at? In Burdwan, the most highly cultured district, only 16 per cent. and in Tirhoot the least cultured district visited only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. received any instruction whatever,—even of the most meagre kind. And be it remembered that these are not the percentages of the whole population but of that portion only of the children who were of the school-going age, that is who were between 6 and 14 years old—the "aggregate average for all the districts visited is no more than  $7\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., leaving  $92\frac{1}{4}$  out of every 100 children of the teachable age wholly destitute of all kinds and degrees of instruction whatsoever! And taking this as a fair, legitimate and inductively established average for all Bengal and Behar, with their many millions, how fearful—how utterly appalling the aggregate

‘ amount of educational destitution ! Since there are, as we have ‘ already seen, in these two provinces, 6,600,000 or upwards of ‘ six and a half millions of the school-going age ; and since of ‘ these, only  $7\frac{3}{4}$  in a hundred, receive instruction of any kind ; ‘ it must follow that only 511,000 or about half a million receive ‘ any kind of instruction—leaving 6,088,500, or about six millions ‘ of children, capable of receiving school instruction, wholly ‘ uneducated.” But for a complete picture of the educational destitution in Bengal and Behar we refer our readers to an article in No. IV. of this *Review*, and to one published in the *Calcutta Christian Observer* of July 1858, both written by the Rev. Dr. Duff, a man, who perhaps of all others now living has done most to raise the standard of education, and to inaugurate a system of missionary education, which in its results is fraught with blessings to the teeming population of India.

Such then being the state of general education throughout the country—for though the report had been made nearly twenty years before but very little real improvement had taken place—it must be admitted that the opponents of a University had something like a fair show of ground for their opposition. And yet, for two reasons, we hold that Government was right in steadily pursuing the course it adopted. In the first place, the object of a University is not merely by granting degrees to assert the fact that education has made certain progress, and that some, be they few or many, have acquired a certain amount of knowledge and have been subjected to a certain amount of mental training. Besides, and in addition to this, its object is directly and indirectly to foster and cherish education generally, and endeavour to extend its beneficial influences through the various classes of the community. Let but the true idea of a University be carried out in its integrity and we can scarcely conceive of any better way in which money may be spent to diffuse the advantages of a sound and liberal education amongst even the lower orders of society ; and provided the poorer classes be not entirely neglected, rather than that the whole of the money capable of being devoted to educational purposes should be spent upon them, it were better that a portion should be diverted to induce even though it were but a few to seek to enter the higher walks of learning,—assured as we are that the benefits thus conferred at first upon a few would sooner or later be diffused with usury amongst the many. It would have been a short-sighted and niggard policy for Government to have said :—“ Whatever sum is appropriated for education, spend upon the village schools and

improve the patshallahs and so let the people reap the benefit." They took the higher and the broader ground—while you try to improve the lower neglect not the upper, open a way for those desirous of distinguishing themselves, and the honour they gain, while it is their reward, shall be a stimulus to induce others to follow in their steps. Were there none then fitted to present themselves for the examinations a University would give as the test of the possession of qualifications necessary for a degree, the direct influence for good which it would bring to bear upon education generally would of itself justify its establishment.

But in addition to this, and as a second reason justifying its establishment, we assert that in certain places education had made such progress as to warrant the belief that a body of men would be found capable of competing successfully for the distinctions a University is empowered to confer. While the general spread of education through the country had been of so limited an extent there had arisen here and there, institutions—some, fostered by the Government—others supported by legacies left for that purpose—others established as a direct means of bringing missionary efforts to bear upon certain classes of the people, otherwise scarcely accessible to them,—in all of which institutions, while elementary instruction was not neglected, the studies in the higher classes were carried to such a degree as to justify the confident expectation that many of their students, if an opportunity were furnished to them, would be able to obtain literary honours. Many of the institutions that on the establishment of the University were affiliated to it, had been for many years in existence, quietly and without ostentation doing their work, accompanied with more or less of success. Amongst them there were for instance,

*Connected with Government.*

The Medical College established in ...	...	1835
Hooghly College	... ..	1836
Dacca College	... ..	1841
Kishnaghur College	... ..	1845

*Unconnected with Government.*

The Bishop's College established in ...	...	1822
Doveton College—growing out of the Parental Academy	... ..	1823
St. Paul's School	... ..	1845
Free Church Institution	... ..	1830
La Martiniere	... ..	1836
London Missionary Institution, Bhowanipur	...	1838
Serampore College	... ..	1818



Not that we mean to assert that in all or even in *any* of these institutions there had been from their commencement a high education imparted. This could not be expected. Everything must have a beginning. But however humble the beginning of some of them might have been—however varied the success some of them had been accompanied with—and through whatever alternation of hope and almost despair their managers had successively passed, yet they were all able to claim affiliation with the University on the ground that they possessed an educational staff capable of educating their students up to the standard of the B. A. Degree, and that the course of study for the two previous years at least had been of a sufficiently high standard to warrant the authorities in yielding the claim. So that on the grounds both of the stimulus it would give to general education and that it was not too premature a step to take, the establishment of Universities is justified.

We now proceed to detail the various steps taken in their first establishment. In the year 1854 the Government of India received the now famous educational despatch instructing and authorizing them to take the necessary steps for instituting Universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. In the paragraphs from 24 to 32 of that despatch a general outline of the views of the Court is given.

"The Hon'ble Court desire generally, that the Universities should be established, so as to "encourage a regular and liberal course of Education, by conferring Academical Degrees as evidence of attainments in the different branches of Art and Science, and by adding marks of honor for those who may desire to compete for honorary distinction;" they express an opinion, that "the form, government and functions" of the London University "are the best adapted to the wants of India," and "may be followed with advantage, although some variation will be necessary in points of detail;" they indicate the constitution of the governing body of the Universities, observing that "the Senates will have the management of the funds of the Universities, and frame regulations for your approval," (that is, for the approval of the Governor General in Council,) under which periodical examinations may be held in the different branches of Art and Science;" they point out, that "the function of the Universities will be to confer Degrees upon such persons as, *having been entered as candidates according to the Rules which may be fixed in this respect,*" and "having produced certificates of good conduct and a regular course of study, from any of the *affiliated Institutions*" (as described,) shall pass *at the Universities* such an examination as "may be required of them;" and they desire that *the Examinations for Degrees may not include "any subjects connected with religious belief,"* and that Schools conducted by all denominations of every religious persuasion "may be affiliated to the Universities, if they are found to afford the requisite course of study and can be depended upon for the certificates of conduct."

"Further, the Hon'ble Court desire, that the detailed Regulations for the Examination for Degrees may be framed "with a due regard for all classes of the affiliated Institutions," and they observe that "the standard

for common Degrees" must be "fixed with very great judgment," so that it should be "such as to command respect without discouraging the efforts of deserving students," while in the competition for Honors, care is to be taken to "maintain such a standard as will afford a guarantee for high ability and valuable attainments, *the subjects being so selected as to include the best portions of the different schemes of study pursued at the affiliated Institutions.*"

"Lastly, the Hon'ble Court suggest that Degrees should be given in Law and Civil Engineering, and special Degrees in other branches of useful learning; and that the study of the Vernacular and learned languages of India should be particularly encouraged."

Seventeen gentlemen were accordingly selected by Government to act as a Committee for the purpose of considering the whole plan, and drawing up a detailed scheme for the establishment and regulation of the institution. To these, eleven gentlemen were subsequently added making up a committee of twenty-eight, selected from different classes and representing as fairly as possible the different sections of the community, excepting perhaps the Mahomedans and those schools that were unconnected with Government and with Missionary bodies. Many of these private schools had arisen, and in some of them an advanced education had been for some time given. On the whole, however, the Committee was selected with singular impartiality—the missionary bodies, some of whom had taken a very high position in furthering education amongst the people, and who had done so too with the avowed intention of using education as a means of christianizing them, and whose schools had, notwithstanding, been attended by thousands of the natives, were even strongly represented, and we are glad to record the fact to the credit of the Indian Government (at whose head Lord Dalhousie then was) that upon that first committee, in addition to the Rev. Dr. Kay, Principal of the Bishop's College, there were four gentlemen who had identified their names most thoroughly with the progress of missions in India, the Rev. Messrs. Duff, Ewart, Ogilvie and Mullens. The letter of instructions sent to the Committee, dated Council Chamber, the 26th January 1855, and signed Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India, bears evident marks of the master mind then ruling India. "The Most Noble the Governor General in Council was desirous that steps should be immediately taken to prepare the scheme of an University to be established in Calcutta." The terms of the despatch precluded him from actually establishing a University "without further orders, but in anticipation of those orders, he considered it desirable that the details of a scheme in accordance with the outline sketched in the despatch should be settled with as

‘little delay as possible.’ We mourn that the moving spirit is now so different; but it does one good to read such words in these degenerate days. It was desirable that in all important points of principle, uniformity between the three Universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay should be secured, and therefore the Committee were expected to keep in view that their report would have reference both to Madras and Bombay as well as to Calcutta.\* “Local circumstances would doubtless to some extent ‘render modifications necessary, but it was essential that the ‘legal status and authority of each University should be the ‘same.” Probably the Committee would deem it advisable to appoint a sub-committee to draw up a rough draft of a scheme, which could then be discussed by the whole. “His Lordship ‘in Council would deprecate resort to written minutes by any ‘Member of the Committee, and would recommend as a preferable arrangement that the scheme, when drawn by a small ‘sub-committee of correspondence, should be discussed at a full ‘meeting of the Committee (of which a majority may form a quorum) and settled according to the opinions of the majority of ‘members present.” His Lordship was very evidently in earnest. He did not want to have to wade through a lot of minutes. He wanted the report, and so, wrapped up in Mr. Beadon’s courtly phrase, we read;—“Gentlemen, I want the report quickly; I cannot expect you to agree in every detail of it. Meet and discuss the matter amongst yourselves and let me have the result with as little delay as possible.” They were to write to the different Local Governments from whom they would doubtless receive valuable suggestions which it would be their duty carefully to consider. Referring to a suggestion that had been made to His Lordship in Council that two degrees should be given in each subject, he leaves it to their decision “observing ‘that any one degree of the very low standard, which seems to ‘be contemplated by the Hon’ble Court, would be of little ‘value.” “With these observations, His Lordship in Council ‘leaves the subject to the careful and anxious consideration of ‘the Committee.”

And the Committee gave it their anxious and careful consideration. They met and appointed five Sub-Committees; one for the purpose of preparing drafts of such Bill or Bills as may be necessary for the incorporation of the University, the others for preparing draft rules for Examinations for degrees in Arts, Medicine, Law and Civil Engineering. The Sub-Committees having met and prepared these draft rules, sent them to the Governments of the several Presidencies, Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North Western Provinces, for such observations



as they might desire to offer on the plans thus presented, as it were, in the rough. All the subordinate Governments replied, sending various opinions from many Local officers. And then the Sub-Committees, considering their former reports in connexion with these replies, drew up their second and final reports which were duly considered by the whole Committee on the 9th July 1856. "The result of the meeting of the Committee held on that date was, that the Reports of the Sub-Committees on Arts and Civil Engineering were adopted in their integrity; that the report of the Sub-Committee on Law was adopted, with the exception of a single rule proposed by the Sub-Committee on the supposition of a contingency which did not seem to have arisen; and that the Report of the Medical Sub-Committee was adopted, with certain modifications, with advertence to which it was referred to a Special Sub-Committee for revision."

Without stopping to give the details of the first reports and the consequent discussions, we proceed at once to give a brief and very condensed sketch of the final reports thus presented to and adopted by the Committee, and which were afterwards forwarded to Government and approved by it when the scheme was ultimately sanctioned.

The Sub-Committee of Arts, then consisting of the Hon'ble Mr. Grant, Messrs. Beadon, Young and Woodrow, Baboo Ram Gopaul Ghose, Pundit Ishwar Chundra Vidyaságár, the Rev. Dr. Duff and Dr. Kay, the Rev. Messrs. Mullens, Ogilvie and Ewart, and Dr. Mouat, taking the London University as their model, first took up the question of the titles that should be assigned to the several degrees. They decided upon holding an Entrance Examination which should be open to all lads who had attained their sixteenth year and who could produce certificates of good moral character. These were the only conditions requisite. It mattered not from what district the candidates might come or in what schools they had been educated. The Committee, we think wisely, cast aside the term given to the corresponding Examination in London; viz. matriculation, as being not sufficiently descriptive and as no useful end could be gained by preserving it—but they as wisely determined to retain the well-known and familiar titles of Bachelor and Master of Arts—the former though non-descriptive yet possessing so well and widely understood a conventional meaning that, as they truly say "it would be far more acceptable to the graduates and to the public in general than any other that could be substituted for it, and there seems no sufficient reason for denying to the Indian student a coveted verbal distinction of this nature, if the profi-

ciency by which he earns it be on the whole as high, and the examination by which that proficiency is tested be as strict, as those by which the same distinction is obtained in the Universities of the United Kingdom and other parts of the civilized world." To the latter title, that of Master, there could be no objection, for in addition to these reasons it was "eminently descriptive."

The question of title being fixed there next arose that of affiliation. It being settled that any one might present himself as a candidate for the Entrance Examination, the question came,—shall this be allowed to all candidates for degrees or shall we insist upon their passing a certain term say of two, three, four years or more in some recognized scholastic institutions—institutions recognized through their being affiliated to the University? While we differ from the Committee as to the decision to which they came, we cannot but admit the difficulty that beset them and the weight of the reasons they urge in support of their decision. They rightly regarded the object of the University, as not being merely "to ascertain in the candidate for literary honors 'the possession of a certain amount of knowledge, without reference to the question whether such knowledge had been attained 'by a laborious process of continued study, or by the injurious 'process of cramming, but that it would be a great error for the 'University not to employ its influence in establishing correct 'views of the nature of real education and in furthering the progress of such education as far as it possibly can.'" But the question yet remains, whether that object is best secured by depriving of all chance of literary honors, and of the employment which in this country generally follows and in some instances is only to be obtained as the result of their acquisition, the poor lad, who, devoting to study the hours he can spare from his daily toil, with a manliness and perseverance that Englishmen of all others should admire and encourage, plods on bravely and steadily; but who, notwithstanding his disadvantages, would be able, if permitted, successfully to compete for the coveted and enviable distinction. The Committee thought they were best promoting that object by not giving him a chance, but by confining the Examination for degrees to those and those only who have had the advantages of a regular and continued course of education; though we must do them the justice to say that they would permit any school to be affiliated whose curriculum of study is such as would enable their students, after four years' study, to pass respectably the Examination for the B. A. degree, and that in recommending this system "they have special regard to the present wants of India." "Hereafter," they say, "when the highest benefits of Edu-

‘cation are more fully appreciated, when the country is filled with  
‘well instructed schools, and when the number of students volun-  
‘tarily submitting to a long continued training is greatly increas-  
‘ed, it may be needless for the University to consider the general  
‘character of the Education given, and it may be deemed suffici-  
‘ent for it to test only one of the results of education, the amount  
‘of knowledge which candidates have attained. Meantime, they  
‘think that the system of affiliation will be productive of good.”

The questions of titles and affiliation being thus settled the next and perhaps the more important questions of the nature of the Examinations, were considered. The Entrance Examination they determined to make as nearly as possible similar to the Matriculation Examination in London. But the different position that education occupied in England and in India, and the difference in the nature of the education given in the two countries, rendered it impossible slavishly to follow the London plan, and surrounded the question itself with a very considerable amount of difficulty. At all the public schools, and in all the larger private scholastic establishments in England, the education given may be generally described as classical and mathematical. The nature of the examination then to be prescribed in obtaining a degree is not difficult to guess. Of course the subjects would be those, nine out of every ten of which are taught in all well regulated and advanced institutions, private as well as public. But in India where the question affected so many millions speaking so many different languages, it was seen that to render the University a boon to all, the Examination must not be confined to a single branch of languages but must be of so wide a scope as to permit candidates a choice of languages for examination. There were the European and East Indian portions of the community taught in schools, conducted as nearly as possible, so far as the subject of languages is concerned, on the same plan as English schools. For them an examination in Latin and Greek might be given—while to require an examination in such subjects from natives would be practically to exclude them from all share in the benefit of the University. In England too “English is the only Vernacular and Latin, Greek, and Hebrew the only classical languages, but in the Bengal Presidency alone here are (apart from numerous dialects and aboriginal barbarous tongues) four main Vernacular languages, namely Urdu, Hindi, Bengali and Burmese, and two classical languages of high philological value, namely, Arabic and Sanskrit, besides the Occidental classics; while English must be regarded in some cases as a classical, in others as a Vernacular language.” The Sub-Com-



mittee therefore came to the conclusion that the plan which was liable to the least objection was to insist upon every candidate passing an examination in English and in one other language; and having respect to the different classes from which candidates would present themselves, the languages from which they were to select one should be the following—Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Burmese.

But in order that our readers may be able at one glance to compare the nature of the examinations held at Calcutta and in London, we subjoin in parallel columns the scheme for the examination at each place both for Entrance and for the degree of B. A.

#### Entrance or Matriculation Examination.

##### LONDON.

##### CALCUTTA.

#### I.—LANGUAGES.

The Greek and Latin Languages.

One Greek and one Latin subject to be selected by the Senate from the works of Homer, and Xenophon, and from portions of the works of Virgil, Horace, Sallust, Cæsar, Livy, Cicero.

The English Language.

The Grammatical Structure of the Language.

English—and also one of the following to be selected by the Candidate himself. Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Burmese.

The papers in each language shall include questions on Grammar and Idiom.

Easy sentences in each of the languages in which the Candidate is examined shall be given for translation into the other.

#### II.—HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

History of England to end of Seventeenth Century.

The papers in Classics shall contain questions in History and Geography.

Outlines of General History as contained in Marshman's Brief Survey.

Outlines of Indian History as contained in Murray's History.

A general knowledge of Geography and a more detailed knowledge of the Geography of India.

## III.—MATHEMATICS AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

Arithmetic and Algebra.

Ordinary rules of Arithmetic.

Vulgar and Decimal Fractions.

Extraction of Square Root.

Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication and Division of Algebraical Quantities.

Proportion.

Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression.

Simple Equations.

Geometry.

The first book of Euclid.

Mechanics.

Composition and Resolution of Statical Forces.

Describe the Simple Machines, &amp;c.

Define the Centre of Gravity.

General Laws of Motion.

The Law of Motion of falling bodies.

Hydrostatics, Hydraulics and Pneumatics.

Elementary principles.

Acoustics.

Describe the Nature of Sound.

Optics.

State the laws of Reflection and Refraction.

Explain the formation of images by Simple lenses.

None.

Arithmetic and Algebra.

The same with the exception of Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression.

Geometry.

The first three Books of Euclid.

Mechanics.

Composition and Resolution of Statical Forces.

Describe the Simple Machines, &amp;c.

Centre of Gravity.

## IV. NATURAL HISTORY.

A general knowledge of the habits and characteristics of Vertebrated animals.

General economy of vegetation and the simple or elementary organs of plants.

Fairly contrasting the two schemes then, and remembering that the Indian candidate would answer the questions in English, a language which to every nine out of ten of them would be a foreign one, we think it will be conceded that the Indian Entrance Examination is on the whole as difficult as that required from the candidate for Matriculation at London. The most marked difference is that observed under the head of Natural Philosophy where the London Examination appears far more difficult, but it must be borne in mind that the candidate is expressly told that a popular knowledge only of these subjects in Natural Philosophy will be required, such as may be obtained by attending a course of experimental Lectures—and as a fact we know that many pass in the first division whose knowledge of this portion of the examination is very elementary indeed. Taken altogether then the Indian Entrance Examination embraces as wide and extended a range of subjects as that included in the Matriculation Examination of the London University.

In connection with the Matriculation Examination at London an additional Examination for Honors is held in each of the four branches of Classics, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Natural History, and Chemistry. This examination is open to any candidate who has passed the previous Matriculation Examination. Any candidate who can pass either of these has more than qualified himself for the corresponding branch of examination for the B. A. degree. The Sub-Committee however were unanimous in thinking that such an Examination for Honors at Entrance was quite unnecessary. "They are of opinion that the standard of the Entrance Examination papers should be moderately high, so that they being placed by the Examiners in the first division should be evidence of considerable academical progress at the age of sixteen, the minimum age of admission, but that more than this is not required. And they think that a moderate amount of knowledge in each branch should be sufficient to give candidates a place in the Second Division and thus enable them to study for the Degrees."

The same difficulty as to languages was felt in deciding on the scheme for the B. A. examination as had already been met with in the Entrance Examination. At London, in addition to the Candidate being required to pass in English, Latin and Greek, he is required to undergo an examination in either French or German, at his option—but acting on the same general principles that had actuated them in deciding on the Entrance Course, the Sub-Committee thought it would be sufficient that the candidates should be required to pass in two languages, of which



English must be one. But of course the Examination must be much more severe, thorough and searching, than that required for the Entrance Examination. They "strongly recommend" that every candidate should be required to possess a critical knowledge of his own Vernacular language, and that the examination should be so conducted as to put this knowledge "strictly and thoroughly to the test." There being then the same relative difference between the examinations in languages for the B. A. as we have already noticed in the Entrance Examination, the course prescribed in the other subjects for the B. A. is as follows:—

## LONDON.

## CALCUTTA.

## II.—HISTORY.

History of Greece to the death of Alexander.

Do. Rome to the death of Augustus.

Do. England to the end of seventeenth century.

The Classical papers shall be accompanied by questions in History and Geography.

The Principles of Historic Evidence as treated in Isaac Taylor's two works on the subject.

History of England (including that of British India) to the end of 1815.

Elphinstone's History of India. Ancient History, with special reference to the History of Greece to the death of Alexander, and to the History of Rome to the death of Augustus, and the History of the Jews.

The Historical questions will include the Geography of the countries to which they refer.

## III.—MATHEMATICS AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

Arithmetic and Algebra.

In addition to the Matriculation Subjects,  
Algebraical Proportion and Variation.

Permutations and Combinations.

Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression.

Arithmetic and Algebra.

The same as in London with the addition of the Binomial Theorem.

## LONDON.

- Simple and Compound Interest; Discount and Annuities for times of years.  
 Simple and Quadratic Equations and questions producing them.  
 The nature and use of Logarithms.  
 Geometry.  
 The first six books of Euclid and the eleventh, to the 21st proposition.  
 Equation to the straight line and the Equation to the circle referred to rectangular co-ordinates.  
 Equations to the Conic sections referred to rectangular co-ordinates.  
 Plane Trigonometry.  
 Solution of all cases of Plane Triangles.  
 Expression for Area of a triangle in terms of its sides.  
 Mechanics.  
 Composition and Resolution of Forces.  
 Mechanical Powers.  
 Centre of Gravity.  
 General Laws of Motion.  
 Motion of falling bodies in free space and down inclined planes.  
 Hydrostatics, Hydraulics and Pneumatics.  
 Astronomy.  
 Apparent motion of the heavens round the earth.  
 ————— sun through the fixed stars.  
 Phenomena of Eclipses.  
 Regression of the Planets.

## CALCUTTA.

- Geometry.  
 The same course of Euclid.  
 Conic Sections.  
 Plane Trigonometry.  
 Same course.  
 Mechanics.  
 Same course.  
 Astronomy.  
 Elementary knowledge of the Solar system, including the phenomena of Eclipses.

The same course in both.

LONDON.	CALCUTTA.
Proofs of the Copernican system.	
Optics.	Optics.
None.	Laws of Reflection and Refraction.
	Formation of images by simple lenses.

## IV.—PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

Chemistry.	Chemistry.
None.	A general notion of the nature and condition of the atmosphere,—of water—Hydrogen—Alkalies, Salts, Metals—Combustion—Heat, &c.
Animal Physiology.	Animal Physiology.
	Nearly the same course in each.
Physical Geography.	Physical Geography.
None.	As contained in Hughes' Work.

## V.—MENTAL AND MORAL SCIENCES.

Logic.	Logic.
Introduction, 1st Book and to end of Chapter III. in 2nd Book of Whateley's Elements.	Whateley's Elements.
Moral Philosophy.	Moral Philosophy.
Paley's 1st, 3rd and 4th Books.	As contained in Abercrombie or Wayland.
Butler's three sermons on Human Nature.	
Mental Philosophy „	Mental Philosophy.
None.	As contained in Abercrombie or Dr. Payne.

As in the Entrance Examination, so in that for the B. A. degree, the Calcutta University has no cause to fear comparison with London. In History, the Examination in the former is much more severe than in the latter, the Committee rightly judging that "its great importance, the ignorance that has so extensively prevailed in India respecting its real nature, character and worth, as well as the great benefits which native students are likely to derive from a careful study of its best portion,



‘ rendered it advisable ‘ to give it a prominent place in the Examination.’ ”

A successful candidate for the B. A degree might then submit himself for an examination in Honors in either one or more of the following subjects:—

1. Languages.
2. History.
3. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.
4. Natural History and the Physical Sciences.
5. The Mental and Moral Sciences.

His passing that examination successfully would entitle him at once to his degree of Master of Arts. And any man who did so succeed would have well earned his title to that literary distinction.

The degrees in Arts being those that the great majority of students would aspire to, we have been thus minute in specifying the examinations necessary to obtain them and in contrasting them with those given for the same purpose in the London Institution on the plan of which that at Calcutta has been to so great an extent modelled. In reference to the examination for degrees in Medicine, Law and Civil Engineering, suffice it to say that the first has been assimilated as nearly as possible to that in London, the second has been much modified, to suit the different circumstances of the countries, for the third there is no degree given in London—and the Committee had consequently nothing to guide them in forming a plan of examination excepting their own knowledge of the requirements of the case. Looking, then, at the whole matter impartially we have no hesitation in saying that the distinction conferred by a Calcutta degree is fully equal to that conferred by one given in London.

The different reports of the various Sub-Committees over, which we have thus rapidly glanced having been submitted to the general committee, were considered and adopted, on the 9th July, 1856. And on the 7th August, Sir James W. Colville, President of the University Committee, submitted to Government “ a report of the proceedings of the Committee from their appointment to the present time, and of the scheme, which after careful and mature deliberation they have resolved to recommend.”

The Resolution of Government upon the report thus presented was recorded on the 12th December 1856. The Governor General in Council thus expresses his sense of the mode in which the arduous labours of the Committee had been performed. “ The thanks of the Government are largely due to ‘ the Members of the Committee, for the careful and complete

‘manner in which they have discharged their trust, amongst  
‘pressing avocations and claims upon their time, which, with many,  
‘can have left little room for additional labours. The work has been  
‘admirably performed, and the Governor General in Council has  
‘no hesitation in adopting, unreservedly, the scheme of the  
‘Committee, which with few exceptions, is strictly in accordance  
‘with the views expressed by the Hon’ble Court in their despatch  
‘of 19th July 1854 and by the Government of India in the letter  
‘appointing the Committee.” On the 24th January 1857  
Act II. of 1857 was passed, establishing and incorporating a  
University at Calcutta. The Preamble states that “Whereas,  
‘for the better encouragement of Her Majesty’s subjects of all  
‘classes and denominations within the Presidency of Fort  
‘William in Bengal and other parts of India in the pursuit of a  
‘regular and liberal course of education it has been determined  
‘to establish an University at Calcutta for the purpose of ascer-  
‘taining, by means of Examination, the persons who have acquir-  
‘ed proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and  
‘Art, and of rewarding them by Academical Degrees, as  
‘evidence of their respective attainments, and marks of honor  
‘proportioned thereunto; and whereas, for effectuating the pur-  
‘poses aforesaid, it is expedient that such University should be  
‘incorporated. It is enacted as follows, &c.” And thus was the  
University established.

But while we regard with almost unmixed satisfaction the scheme of examination prepared by the original Committee, we are bound to express regret, at the changes which have been introduced by their successors and which have tended, we fear in no small degree, to lower the character of the University and thus materially to lessen its influence. It may be assumed as a matter of fact, that an Indian degree will not be, for at least many years to come, regarded as equivalent to a corresponding English degree, and this, although the examination necessary to secure the one may be in as many subjects, and the questions as severe, as those requisite for obtaining the other. There is the feeling in us, we had almost said, natural to us, to prefer anything English to its Indian correspondent. English Reviews, English Newspapers, English workmanship (whether truly or falsely is not the question) we believe to be better than Indian. And we cannot in our own minds prevent the instinctive comparison of Indian and English degrees, to the detriment of the former. Any one of us, there can be no doubt, if we cared two straws about the matter at all, would prefer having a B. A. degree from London rather than from Calcutta, or Madras or Bombay. We do not attempt to

justify the feeling. There it is—and we are bound to recognise it. If it be so, one obvious result is, that the authorities should be careful to extend the examination over such a range of subjects and so to frame the questions as to render the examination as severe a test in every respect as that presented by the London Examination. And we regret to find therefore that the tendency is to contract the range of subjects. If not to render the character of the questions more easy. There was evidently a sufficient reason why for the Examination held in April 1857 “special instructions should be issued to the Examiners, requesting them under the peculiar circumstances to be less stringent in their requirements, and to fix their papers at a somewhat lower standard than might on future occasions be advisable.” The time elapsing between the promulgation of the subjects for Examination and the Examination itself was only three months. If, therefore, the candidate showed that he had a fair general knowledge of the subject, and could intelligently answer general questions connected with them, he might be allowed to pass. But still, even then, he was required to show the possession of a certain amount of knowledge of all the subjects to warrant the Examiner in passing him. Afterwards when the institution had got into full working trim, of course no allowance of this kind would be made; but a step much more fatal to its usefulness has been taken. The Senate has struck out from the Entrance course, the Examination in Mechanics and in Natural History. They have the example of their prototype, the London University, to urge in favour of the latter, but they could only have omitted the former to accommodate their standard to the existing state of education generally. Far better would it have been for education in India had the Senate kept rigidly to its originally prescribed plan. True, there is no degree conferred for passing the Entrance Examination, and that necessary before a degree can be obtained has not been reduced—but the very powerful reasons urged by the Senate for not reducing the standard for the B. A. degree tell with equal force against the very course they have pursued in reducing the standard for Entrance. The real question at issue was precisely the one which lay at the foundation of the suggestion made by the Senate of the Bombay University for reducing the standard of the B. A. degree. “They considered that in the present state of education in Western India, it would be injurious to College students to lead them to endeavour to meet the requirements of so multifarious a standard, and they preferred to require of all, a sound knowledge of fundamental subjects, as Language, Mathematics, Selected periods of History, Logic and



‘ Moral Philosophy, with the addition of one other approved  
‘ branch of knowledge to be selected by the candidate.” We  
wish not for a better and more complete reply to this proposal  
of the Bombay Senate than that given by the Faculty of arts.  
“ The Faculty are strongly opposed to any attempt to lower  
‘ the standard for degrees to the present level of education in  
‘ India. It appears to them that the duty of the Universities is  
‘ to legislate more for the future than the present, and that in  
‘ adopting the English title for their degrees, they are bound  
‘ to fix such reasonable standard, as will place those who attain  
‘ them, as nearly as possible, on a level with the corresponding  
‘ graduates of the English Universities. That education is  
‘ low in Western India, as it is also here, is matter for regret,  
‘ but no valid reason for depreciating the value of the degrees  
‘ by lowering them to meet the present acquirements of the na-  
‘ tive students. It rather appears to the Faculty to be the  
‘ strongest argument against doing so. Were such the case,  
‘ the Colleges and Schools throughout the country, would have  
‘ no reason for advancing their students beyond the present  
‘ very low position, whereas on the contrary, a higher standard  
‘ by offering worthy objects of emulation, must necessarily  
‘ advance education for many years to come. Few may obtain  
‘ degrees, and none may attain to honors ; still, in the end, the  
‘ state of education in India must be much higher than it could  
‘ possibly be, if, from the commencement, the Universities of  
‘ India were to rest content with mediocrity.” Mutatis  
mutandis, the same reasoning will hold good for not reducing  
the Standard for Entrance. The passing that examination suc-  
cessfully does not, it is true, confer any Degree, but it does con-  
fer academical distinction. In the original report adopted by  
the Committee and unreservedly approved by Government,  
they say “ they could not fix it (the Standard for Entrance)  
‘ lower, because tests for similar honours, though given in dif-  
‘ ferent countries, should be as far as possible, of equal value ;”  
and again :—“ They are of opinion that the standard of the En-  
‘ trance examination papers should be moderately high, so that  
‘ the being placed by the examiners in the First Division should  
‘ be evidence of considerable academical progress at the age of  
‘ sixteen, the minimum age of admission.” If those reasons  
were influential then, when the standard was first fixed, what  
reasons can be alleged for reducing it now ? If it was thought  
necessary then that similar tests for similar honors should be  
applied, although in different countries, why should it be thought  
unnecessary now ? Surely the Senate, who told the Bombay  
University that the low state of education was the strongest

argument against depreciating the value of Degrees by lowering them to meet the present acquirements of the native students, will not urge that low state of education as the reason for reducing the Standard for Entrance? And yet we know not to what other reason to assign the alteration. It was made in June 1858. For the Entrance Examination held in March of that year 464 candidates presented themselves of whom only 104 passed, and therefore no less than 360 failed. The failure of so many might very easily be accounted for. In the first examination held in the previous year, as we have already mentioned, because very little time had been given for preparation, special instructions were issued to the Examiners not to be so severe in testing the answers as they might appropriately be afterwards. This fact was bruited about, it was well-known amongst the students generally, and there can be but little doubt that the idea was entertained amongst them that the same lenient course would be again pursued, and hence many, very many, went up unprepared, and found out, only when too late, the mistake they had made. We think that is quite sufficient to account for the large number of failures, but the Senate called upon each examiner to submit a report upon the late Entrance and B. A. Examination with his opinion, formed upon such result, as to the propriety of making any, and what alteration in the Examination Standards and tests for future years. These reports were furnished, were considered by the Faculty of Arts, who recommended to the favourable consideration of the Syndicate that the alterations referred to should be made, and they were made accordingly. But in addition to the objection we have already urged on the ground that it lowers the value of the distinction obtained by passing the Entrance Examination, we object to it most strongly because it is *injurious* and *unnecessary*. It is injurious to the candidates themselves. The large majority of them as soon as they have passed the Entrance Examination seek to obtain situations. A few of the more wealthy or of those, who in the respective affiliated institutions are fortunate enough to obtain good scholarships, may hold on to try for their degree—but with the majority, their object is gained as soon as they have passed. They have the certificate of the University signed by the Registrar that they have successfully passed the Entrance Examination. And what more of literary distinction need they care for? Many of them who, if they could continue their studies to obtain their degree would gladly do so, necessity compels to seek remunerative employment. And while it is not right that any one should earn the distinction of having passed an Entrance Examination

too easily, it is a pity that any should be sent into the world without some little knowledge of that by which they may turn their mathematical attainments to some practical benefit. We know it might be said in reply that the Professors and teachers in the Colleges and Schools have the remedy in their own hands; let them in addition to the Entrance Course give their students a training in Mechanics. But we appeal confidently to those actually engaged in teaching as to the difficulty of getting those who are preparing for the Entrance Examination to attend to any other studies than those absolutely essential to pass. You may set your face like a flint against accommodating the subjects in your class merely to those adopted for Entrance, but if you are like a flint, the students will be like steel—and although they may be wise enough to refrain from coming into actual collision, yet the immediate object they set before their eyes is so close that they cannot see the advantage of anything not intimately connected with it—and while their strong desire to attain that object calls from them a concentration of energy and an application of purpose that you scarcely expected them capable of, yet it, on the other hand, or rather as a consequence, prevents their pursuing those studies that do not tell towards the gaining of that object. And after repeated trials you give the matter up in despair. And thus the student is ultimately injured merely for the sake of the present advantage of passing. But we say likewise that the alteration we are condemning is unnecessary. If there were no means of pursuing the study of mechanics so as to acquire a sound knowledge of the general principles of the science without being compelled to go through a very extended course of study, then we should justify the Senate in the course they have adopted in striking it out of the Entrance Examination. But no such plea can be urged. Books are now compiled in which the main principles are taught—and illustrated by simple examples capable of being wrought by any who have mastered simple equations and the first book of Euclid. We need only refer to Tate's small book, or better still, to Newth's First Book of Natural Philosophy, the latter having been written expressly to meet the wants of those who were preparing to take a similar examination in the London University. The book is not a large one and a class preparing for the Entrance Examination ought to be able to get it up well in the course of a year or eighteen months,—that is by taking regular classes in it, say, twice a week through that period. Most strongly, from our firm persuasion of the benefit resulting from it, would we urge upon the University authorities to re-introduce into the Entrance course the subject of mechanics, even if they only gave the chapters in



Newth's Book on Statics and Dynamics. That candidates prepared for the Examination will be found is evident even from the result of the disastrous year of 1858. The subject had not then been struck out and 104 passed. But even if its re-introduction does keep back many from making the trial, better far that a few only with a good general education should pass than that there should be a host of undergraduates having no notion whatever of that which every English Schoolboy of 14 knows tolerably well.

But equally important and more telling alterations have been made in reference to the examinations for conferring degrees, and alterations that will, we fear, be more disastrous in their effects than those to which we have already referred. In the discussions attendant upon the first reports of the Sub-Committees the question naturally arose, what should be required of those candidates who sought to obtain a professional degree in Civil Engineering, Medicine or Law? Should they be required previously to taking the professional degree to take the B. A. degree or only to pass the Entrance Examinations? Without very much discussion it was decided that for the degree of Licentiate of Medicine and Surgery (L. M. S.) Candidates must have passed the Entrance Examination. For the degree of Master of Civil Engineering, Candidates must have taken the B. A. degree. But it was only after considerable discussion that it was decided that candidates for the B. L. degree must necessarily obtain the B. A. degree previously. On what principle it was that the Committee decided to admit a candidate to the examination for a degree in Medicine and not to admit one to that for a degree in Law, without having previously obtained his B. A. degree, we know not. That a doctor ought to have as good a general education as a lawyer—that is independently of his mere professional education—needs not to be discussed. And we cannot but consider it as a matter of regret that the Committee did not from the very first lay it down as a general rule that no professional degree could be obtained without the B. A. Examination having been first passed. The standard is not so high but that every Licentiate of Medicine or Bachelor of Laws ought to be able to attain to it. Whether under existing circumstances the Medical and Legal authorities should require that every one entitled to practise medicine or to plead in courts should first obtain his degree from the University is another question and one with which we contend the University authorities had nothing to do. Their duty was to do what was best for the promotion of learning and intelligence, and we cannot but feel that this would have been better ac-

accomplished had they made the B. A. degree a *sine qua non* for obtaining any professional degree. The whole question was most ably discussed at the time, by one, who, since he wrote the minute, has, by his clear foresight of coming evils and the strong common sense evinced in his efforts to avert and to counteract them, earned for himself the lasting gratitude of Europeans in India, but who has prematurely sunk under the weight of the burden that devolved on him—we mean Lord Elphinstone, the then Governor of Bombay—and although the extract is a long one yet the various points involved are so well handled that we cannot do better than put the whole matter before our readers in his Lordship's own words:—

“ I urged, with some earnestness, that a preliminary Degree of B. A. should be required of all who may wish to enter for professional Degrees. I adhere entirely to this belief, and attach to it the greatest importance. The adoption or rejection of such a course will determine the whole character of the University on its purely practical side. I beg to urge most strongly, that a high general preliminary standard be exacted, without exception, of all candidates for University Degrees in every profession.

The Sub-Committee of Civil Engineering have recommended, I perceive, that a Degree of B. A. should be required of candidates for professional Degrees in their Faculty; but they suggest a relaxation of this rule in favour of students in the Government Colleges, which I must consider inconsistent and unwise. The Sub-Committee of Law have recommended that a Degree of B. A. should be required of candidates for Degrees in Law, but they likewise bring forward an alternative suggestion, which in my opinion cannot fail to have an injurious effect. The Sub-Committee in Medicine admit that it would be most desirable to receive only such candidates as have qualified in Arts, but they only bring themselves to expect this consummation hereafter “ in the future progress of Education in India.”

I see no reason why it should not begin to be enforced from the date on which the University may begin to confer its Degrees of B. A.

The Government of India can have no desire to suggest, that mere professional expertness is all that should be required of a professional Graduate. Practical shrewdness, aptitude for the details of business, special knowledge of any kind, as a Lawyer, Doctor, Engineer, are excellent things, and will find their own rewards; but these are not the qualities on which, through the University, it is the great object of our Government to set the seal of its approval. If intelligent men be brought to the thresholds of the professions and admitted to the benefits of instruction, there can be no doubt as to their professional advancement. Even without Degrees, the Colleges will gradually supply as much practical skill of as high a kind as the community can afford, or will consent to remunerate. Even with Degrees, they will not long supply more, and although the creation of a class of skilful native practitioners will be a great benefit and a great triumph, still there is a higher view than this of the present question—a view which must not be postponed to this; for assuredly the future of these very professions, and even of native society itself, will depend less upon the special skill and dexterity of those who are to be the advisers of all classes in their common dealings and pursuits than upon the liberality

of their general views, the purity of their characters, and the soundness of those principles of thought and action which will give a colour to their lives and example. In a letter which has been placed at my disposal, Sir William Yardley has forcibly pointed out the danger of mere legal training without that high tone of professional morality which, in England and Scotland, is found to be the safeguard of men's most intimate confidences; and Mr. Howard, to whose able Report upon Law Degrees I shall presently have occasion to refer, expressly states that "it is in itself positively injurious to the mind to commence a study that requires so much precision of thought, except upon a broad previous foundation; the tendency of the study of any system of Law is undoubtedly to narrow an uncultivated mind." I believe that a similar objection applies to the other two branches for which professional Degrees are to be granted, and that in those whose moral faculties have not been carefully cultivated, or who are not under the influence of strong religious conviction, their studies have a materialist tendency, which it is important to counteract.

I dwell upon this subject, because I do not think that its importance can be over-rated. There is, in India, a very small class of persons who can hope to live otherwise than by their own exertions. Of those who live by their labour, the most influential, at present, are the bankers, the merchants, and the higher servants of the State. It is not difficult to believe, that in India the two former pursuits are unfavorable to study and to moral discipline, while an Officer of Government cannot usually command as large a share of private confidence as a person of equal ability in an independent position. The leading members of the liberal professions, therefore, will probably form a kind of intellectual aristocracy by themselves; they will exert a great moral influence, and will communicate their own opinions and habits to their fellow-countrymen. If so, it must be an object of the highest importance to elevate as much as possible the standard of principle and character among those professional Graduates on whom we are about to confer the only titular distinctions which we have to bestow, and who will be regarded in some degree as exponents and representatives of European ideas and civilization. For other defects among them, there may be other remedies, but the evil of inadequate general Education can only be averted by Government, and can be fully averted only in the very outset.

It is notorious that in England imperfect legislation on professional matters has been a source of infinite mischief and demoralization. Until within the last twenty years, the professional Colleges and Companies alone conferred licences to practice in Medicine; the two older Universities alone awarded Medical Degrees. The former bodies very naturally confined their Examinations to mere special skill, and the proportion of University Graduates to general practitioners was never so great as to raise the character of the entire profession. In Law, the anomaly was, if possible, more striking. The University conferred Degrees which conveyed no right to practice, and the Inns of Court admitted to practice without making inquiry as to qualifications. In Engineering, I believe, no one need obtain even now any diploma to practise his profession, and no University is empowered to confer a Degree in connection with it.

It seems quite obvious, therefore, that the Indian Government must not, in this case, be guided by "home precedents," but must act for itself, using the experience of England rather as a warning than as a guide.

For these reasons, it is with regret that I observe in some gentlemen of experience here, and even in the Reports of the Sub-Committees, a tendency to sanction the practice of transferring boys immediately from



schools to professional study, without any intermediate training of a collegiate nature, or with only a very intermediate training.

I do not understand how a school-boy can really be fit to enter at once upon a professional career. He has hitherto been strictly in a state of pupilage, his conduct has been regulated by an authority which he was not to question, and even his knowledge has been resting upon rules enforced by authority. He has not been thoroughly proved, either as to moral purpose or mental energy ; he has never been thrown upon his own resources. This is what happens to him at College. Principles begin to take the place of authority, and rules are superseded by reasons. On this account, the few years of College life are singularly important in the formation of character, and especially valuable to every one who is to lead an active life.

But even to the mere student their value is exceedingly great. Almost for the first time he feels responsible for his own progress, and works according to his own plan. The facts and formulæ of his school-boy days are now construed to his mind in thought. He begins to mature his knowledge. Two or more years are devoted almost exclusively to "permanent studies,"—that body of approved Science and Literature in regard to which all men have long been of one mind. It is only in the latter part of his course, after long and steady discipline, that he is finally brought face to face with "the progressive studies," the Literature and Science of his own day, which thenceforward will chiefly engage, if not engross, his attention ; and it is only after this careful training that a young man is regarded as qualified to take part in the affairs of the world. Surely any less careful training should not be held to qualify for entrance upon a professional career.

I am very anxious that this should be admitted, and that it should be admitted *in time*. It is easy now to prevent a great mischief, which hereafter it will be very difficult to correct. Indeed, the few objections which I have heard people urge against the high general Education for which I contend, appear to me to be founded upon a misconception.

It is urged, for instance, that if this preliminary test be exacted, the number of candidates for Degrees will be excessively small. Such a statement, if demonstrated, might be a very good argument for delaying the foundation of a University, but can never be accepted as a reason for deteriorating the quality of its Degrees. I trust, however, that the statement itself is erroneous.

Again, it is urged, that by exacting such a test, you limit very much the numbers available for professional employment in the Public Service. This objection supposes that none are to be employed but those who have taken professional Degrees. I do not advocate such a regulation ; on the contrary, I think it would be premature and injurious. The professional Colleges should not close their doors against all but Under-Graduates of the University. The Public Service has need of all the talent and skill it can command from every quarter. No present change need be made in these respects, except as regards the highest grade of public Offices. If it should hereafter be found, that the number of professional Graduates who desire to obtain public employment is sufficient to meet the requirements of the Public Service, such a state of things will of itself prove that the ground of this objection has been removed.

The only other difficulty which has been noticed to me relates to the additional expense of taking a professional Degree, if a general Degree is first to be taken. I do not attach much weight to this objection. The cost of Education in this country is uncommonly, if not excessively, small. The number of Scholarships and Exhibitions will apparently be

uncommonly great, and if a young man may enter as a University student at sixteen, take his Degree of B. A. at nineteen, and obtain his professional Degree at twenty-two or twenty-three, I do not think that he will have any ground of complaint, or that the community would be benefited by his earlier emancipation."

The Original Committee evidently agreed with the sound views expressed by his Lordship excepting in the case of candidates for the Medical degree, but the strong party who at the time tried to admit Candidates for a degree in Laws without having first taken their degree in Arts have at last succeeded in gaining their object. Every candidate for the B. A. degree must now take two examinations—in itself a great improvement on the old plan—the first, necessarily more severe than the Entrance Examination and much less so than the second Examination. And the rule now is that every candidate for the degree of Licentiate of Laws or Licentiate of Civil Engineering—(each of them by the way *new* degrees unknown to English Universities) need only take the *first* Examination for the B. A. degree. We look upon this regulation with unmixed regret. Had the old rule remained in force there would have been, in a comparatively short time, a number of men capable of successfully competing for the B. L. degree, but now we venture to predict that many many years will pass away before any number will be found who will care to go beyond the uncouth and very inferior degree of L. L. Better far had the University maintained its original standard and insisted upon the candidates attaining to it, rather than lower itself and injure them by accommodating its standard to the measure of their present attainments. We write strongly upon the subject because in addition to the injury actually done, there is a very obvious tendency to make the acquisition of a degree more and more easy—and there is no slight ground for the fear that the authorities will forget that the great object of the University is to promote a sound, intelligent, and liberal scheme of education, which they most assuredly will not do by admitting those who are confessedly incapable of taking the ordinary B. A. degree to the examinations for the professional degrees and by inventing new degrees for the express purpose of meeting their case.

The results of the Examinations that have been held may be given in very few words. From the published minutes of the Senate we extract the following tables—including in them the results of the last examinations held, the minutes for 1860 not having been yet published.

*Result of the B. A. Examination for each year since the commencement of the University.*

Year.	No. of Candidates.	Average Age.	Average proportion educated at Govt. Schools.	Religion.			No. Passed.		Average proportion of passed to total No. of Candidates.
				Hindu.	Mahomedan.	Christians.	1st Division.	2nd Division.	
1858	13	22	84.61	10	...	1	...	2	15.38
1859	20	23	75	17	...	3	3	7	50
1860	65	...	...	55	4	6	6	7	20

*Result of the Entrance Examination for each year since the commencement of the University.*

Year.	No. of Candidates.	Average Age.	Average proportion educated at Govt. Schools.	Religion.			No. Passed.		Average proportion of passed to total No. of Candidates.
				Hindu.	Mahomedan.	Christians.	1st Division.	2nd Division.	
1857	244	...	74.18	202	12	30	115	47	66.39
1858	464	17.82	74.35	416	11	37	29	82	23.92
1859 (Mar.)	706	18.4	78.75	653	18	35	107	233	48.15
Do. (Dec.)	705	17.96	69.50	626	27	52	65	178	34.46



*Result of the B. L. Examination for each year since the commencement of the University.*

Year.	No. of Candidates.	Average Age.	Average proportion educated at Govt. Schools.	Religion.			No. Passed.		Average proportion of passed to total No. of Candidates.
				Hindu.	Mahomedan.	Christians.	1st Division.	2nd Division.	
1858	19	...	19	18	..	1	...	11	57.88
1859	20	...	20	20	...	...	...	3	15
1860	22	...	100	20	...	2	...	10	45.45

*Result of the L. M. (First Examination) for each year since the commencement of the University.*

Year.	No. of Candidates.	Average Age.	Average proportion educated at Govt. Schools.	Religion.			No. Passed.		Average proportion of passed to total No. of Candidates.
				Hindu.	Mahomedan.	Christians.	1st Division.	2nd Division.	
1857	12	20	12	8	...	4	6	6	100
1858	40	22	40	34	...	6	9	15	60
1859	31	21	31	25	...	6	6	6	38.70
1860	31	...	100	26	...	5	4	9	41.93

From which it will be seen that 856 students of an average age of 18.06 years have passed the Entrance Examination. 25 of an average age of  $22\frac{1}{2}$  have taken the B. A. degree, 61 of the average age of 21 have taken the first Examination for the L. M. S. degree, and 24 have taken the legal portion of the B. L. degree.

Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to enable us to form an accurate judgment of the effect which the establishment of the University will have upon existing scholastic institutions. But the results already apparent are such as to help us in the formation of a judgment approximating at least to accuracy. Dividing the existing schools into the two classes—those capable of carrying on their students to the Examination for the B. A. degree—and those not professing to carry them farther than that for the Entrance Examination—or in other words into the greater and smaller schools, the influence exerted upon the latter is one of almost unmingled good. A wholesome healthy stimulus is given which before they were, and could scarcely but have been, without. A definite object and definite course of study is set before the students' minds, which course must be mastered before the object is gained. And those who look forward to the Examination must concentrate their attention upon a not very extended course of reading, it is true, but a course of sufficient scope to warrant the opinion that any one who has gone through it, has had a fair ordinary school education. We have good reason for believing that in these lesser schools, not only has the standard of education been raised, but a degree of attention to the work is given both by teachers and students which it would have been judged impossible to obtain from them a few years ago. And for the present the chief benefit of the University must be looked for in schools of this character. They may send as many students as they like to the Entrance Examination, and we have been surprised on looking through the lists to find how many candidates have gone up and passed from schools established in such out of the way places that their names had never been heard of before. And we would urge it as an additional reason why the Senate should not lower the standard for the Entrance Examination. These schools will in a short time attain to the standard even though it should be restored to what it was at first—nay, even if it were raised beyond it. And since their students will not in nine cases out of ten go on for a degree, but will immediately on passing the Entrance Examination seek for a situation, it will be destructive of the very object for which the University was instituted to make that Examination too easy. In the higher schools the influence of the University has not been unmingled with evil. It has perhaps to some extent produced a greater concentration of purpose, and checked what certainly is a great evil and a vicious habit to which so many young lads are prone, the propensity to careless and desultory reading—but in many instances it has sensibly lowered the standard of

education. The lads preparing for Matriculation will not throw any interest into the study of subjects that are not necessary for success in it. And if the teacher persists in retaining the subject on his list, the class is languidly attended to until at last he is obliged to give way, or the student has an excuse for fancying that he is labouring under a real grievance inflicted on him by his teacher unnecessarily. This may be only a present disadvantage. In course of time it may cure itself—but the Senate have it in their power to hasten that time considerably by restoring the subjects they have expunged. The study of Greek too has in those European and East Indian schools where it was before pursued, been almost if not quite destroyed—though we are not prepared to say that the Senate have acted unwisely in requiring a tolerably fair knowledge either of Latin or Greek, rather than a mere smattering of both. But with the exception of the one thing to which we have referred before at length, the tendency to lower the standard of Examination and to render the obtaining literary distinctions a more and more easy matter, the Authorities of the University have done well—they have earned the thanks of all who are labouring for the good of India, and although it must be many years before the full and proper influence of the University is felt, and its institution must now be looked upon more or less as an experiment, the success which has already attended it shows that it has not been established prematurely, and that it is destined with the blessing of God to give a mighty impetus to the promotion of a regular and liberal course of education in India.

We have purposely omitted all reference to the Universities of Madras and Bombay. Our object has been to deal simply with that of Calcutta. We have endeavoured to trace the various steps taken for its establishment—and to put before our readers the results that are already apparent from it. Its progress will be watched with interest, and every well-wisher of the education of the millions of Bengal will pray that wisdom and prudence may be given to its leaders that its future course may be one of continued and increasing success.



ART. VI.—*The “Friend of India.”* Volume XXVI. Serampore. 1860.

It is quite clear that India must be governed somewhere. More or less as a whole it must be governed, and the question is—where? There may be more or less local power in each Province, probably in some respects much more so than at present, that is but a question of degree. We are not now discussing that; but some central power there must be. It does not do to let things drift. We have had enough of that in former days. We know where that leads. Even if it were on other grounds desirable to let each Province altogether govern itself in its own way, and to follow to the utmost its own bent, the Financial, Military, and Political affairs of the whole empire are so mixed up together that a total separation is impossible. After all, Finance is the cardinal question on which everything else depends, and it is totally impossible to combine unity of Finance with severalty of administration. The thing is not to be done. No Financial scheme will work if the power which devises the Finance system does not really in some shape rule the powers which work it out. Any theory can be nullified in practice. If the Central Government does not carry the local Governments with it, there will be no successful issue to its plans.

We assume then that there must be some central power.

When we come to enquire where that power has hitherto been exercised, we not only find that there has not been any efficient centralisation, but we discover that not even in theory is there any such power. There is, it is true, abundance of check, and double check. In fact all action is checked by Governments both in India and in England. But when we ask which is the active central power, it turns out that no one can tell us that. We ask under whom do the subordinate Governments act? We can only ascertain that there is no rule whatever. Who deals with a question beyond the powers of the local Government of Madras or Bombay? Is it the Supreme Government in Calcutta? or is it Her Majesty's Government in Westminster? The Government of Bombay thinks fit to refer a question to Calcutta, and it is discussed in Calcutta. The Government of Madras thinks fit to ignore the Calcutta Government, and to refer the same question direct to England. There are a great many things which the local Governments can *not* do, but beyond that we can learn nothing. The Government in Calcutta may or may not

interfere. The Home Government may or may not be referred to—and India still drifts. If any one should doubt this let him examine facts as they exist in practice. It will hardly be contended that India is at present actively governed from the India House, though we believe that quite as much of the business of a Central Government is done there as in Calcutta. It is understood, we shall be told, that the Home Government exercises only an ultimate control. It is popularly supposed that the Government of India is at Calcutta. It has a permissive power of interference in all things. But in practice does it exercise that power? Not only do the subordinate Governments at their discretion refer many questions direct to the India House, but, its own peculiar duties apart, the Calcutta Government in reality very much abstains from attempting to deal with the many questions of internal Government.

For, before grappling with the question whether the Government of India is to be in London or in Calcutta, we must premise that without doubt there must always be, to some extent, a double Government. There must reside in the Governor General in India an emergent power of assuming the command when great necessities arise, in fact of making himself Dictator when the safety of the Republic requires it. There must also be vested in a central local Government certain peculiar functions and departments which now belong to it. The political relations with the greater native states, the immediate management of the Army and Navy, the Post office and Telegraph, and some other peculiar departments; and the detached isolated districts which cannot be brought under any one of the local Governments, must no doubt be managed by a Central Government. On the other hand a power of control must under any circumstances vest in the Government at Home so far as it thinks fit to exercise such a power. The question which we now discuss is—whether such central superintendence in ordinary internal affairs as it is judged fit to exercise, in a greater or less degree, over the local Governments, is to be exercised primarily, and as a rule in England or in India. It is of infinite importance and indeed absolutely necessary that this should be settled one way or other.

We claim to assume that it is neither preposterous nor impossible that in the sense which we have explained the Central Government should be in England. The question is at least open to argument. Look to the India House records. The Central Government was avowedly in England when the distance was

in practice just six times what it now is, and, till a comparatively recent period. Up to 1834 no one supposed the power of control in the Calcutta Government to be anything but extraordinary and emergent; and since that period the power has been as we have said but partially. Direct Government from Leadenhall Street has been common not only in great, but also in very many petty questions. For the future the completion some day or other of the sub-marine cable will render London for telegraphic purposes almost as near to all parts of India as Calcutta. The communication by Post is now rapidly approaching, and might very easily be fixed at 20 days, and that is in fact almost as near as it is desirable to bring the central to the local Governments as respects matters not peculiarly emergent. At this moment the average post time between Calcutta and the distant Presidencies is fully 10 days. Is there then in this such a difference as to make all further argument superfluous? We think not.

There remains, as a preliminary argument, the Indian atmosphere, Indian associations, and Indian information which may be supposed to render a Government in India more efficient. But it may be very much doubted whether that advantage is obtained in Calcutta. Now Calcutta is one of the great commercial cities of India. This is a point of the greatest consequence no doubt. But it must always be remembered that Calcutta is not India. It is in fact situated in a peculiarly isolated part of India, and among a people who are far from representing the normal type of Indians. The Bengalees are in very many respects quite a peculiar race, probably formed by a large intermixture with some aboriginal people. Physically and morally the Bengalee is in many ways unlike an ordinary Indian. Throughout India from the north to the south, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, in Hindoostan, Madras, and Bombay, an extreme similarity prevails. In Bengal only is there a marked difference. Geographically too Bengal is a sort of wing thrown out on one side. Calcutta is but the Capital of Bengal. Natives from other parts of India do not at all resort there; and it may be doubted whether the disposition of Calcutta authorities to look on the abnormal Bengalees as types of native feeling, and to yield to the influence of a spurious fiction of Bengalee public opinion and to a too local European press, is beneficial. Still more important is it that Calcutta is not a Capital to the European officers of Government; for the Governor General and Central Government must after all chiefly derive their information at second hand from European officers. Madras and Bombay officers scarcely ever by



any chance visit Calcutta, and as soon as the railways from Allahabad to Bombay, and from Lahore to Mooltan are completed, officers from the North Western Provinces, and the Punjab will be equally unknown there. They will come and go by Bombay and Kurrachee, and Calcutta will be to Europeans as exclusively Bengalee as it is to natives. It is certain that London and not Calcutta now is, and that as facilities for communication increase, it much more will be the centre in which congregate European officers on furlough and business from all parts of India. Even now, natives too, from distant parts, begin to resort to London, and it is we think in many ways desirable that they should be encouraged to do so. They will learn much even by sad experience, and return wiser although it may be poorer men than they came.

We cannot over-estimate the evil which results from the want of official and social communication between Calcutta and the Provinces. That is one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest obstacle to the success of the present system. It is hardly possible to conceive the amount of local jealousy and heart-burning which exists, but it is enough to render any efficient Government very difficult. No officer high or low in Madras or Bombay looks to the Supreme Government in Calcutta as the proper and legitimate Head of the Empire, but only as a kind of usurped tyranny. Every man fancies that on every occasion it is the preconcerted and deep laid design of the Calcutta Government and of every one connected with it, to do injustice and injury to every one and every thing connected with those local Presidencies. It is only on the spot, that it is possible to realize the extent to which this feeling exists, but it a very lamentable fact: we attribute it principally to:—

1st. The want of a definition of subordination already mentioned. All control which is not certain and defined is irksome.

2nd. To the traditions of former independence.

3rd and chiefly. To ignorance caused by want of communication. We are satisfied that nine-tenths of the grievances under which Madras and Bombay men labor are pure misapprehensions. They themselves create the giants which oppress them. They have never been in Bengal. They know nothing of the system there. Every thing which is irksome is attributed to Bengal ideas. An order may be as new and possibly as disagreeable in Bengal as in Madras, but no Madrassee feels that. It is new and disagreeable to him, and the natural and normal solution of all such grievances is to say "here is another Bengal idea forced down our throats." A military arrangement may be made in the most innocent good faith, a regiment is or-

dered to a particular station or an officer selected for a Brigadiership, but of course the regiment was sent to a bad station, because it is a Madras Regiment, and the better officer was passed over because he is a Madrassee. Misconception is carried to a point which would be absurd if it were not so vitally injurious. Nor is it to be supposed that the mere admission into the Supreme Government of one man from each of the distant Presidencies would cure the evil. It is far too deep-seated for that. The man who ceases to share to the full extent in local grievances and delusions, is looked upon as an apostate and renegade corrupted in Calcutta. He may honestly support the interests of his Presidency, but he inevitably gets over the misconceptions resulting from ignorance, and then he loses the confidence of his own people. Madras and Bombay are always fully represented in the Legislative Council, but the control of the Legislature is not on that account one whit more popular in Madras and Bombay than that of the Supreme Executive Government.

There is another difficulty as regards the Calcutta Legislature which has not yet been faced. In one matter, a very small matter it is true but still one which sufficiently involves the principle, the Calcutta Legislature has asserted its independence of the orders of the Home Government. The question has also been raised whether the Legislature is to exercise the power of controlling the Political and Financial action of the Government. Legally it may perhaps possess that power, and the extent to which it may or may not be exercised, depends upon the individual discretion of the members. Is it then possible to arrange for the maintenance of a Supreme Central Legislature at Calcutta without danger of collision with an Executive Government necessarily despotic and a Home Government necessarily Supreme?

Without then putting forth as wholly conclusive all the above arguments we contend that there is no monstrous antecedent impossibility in the idea that India might, extraordinary emergencies apart, be governed in England. Supposing that there is always on the spot a statesman of the rank of a Governor General armed with the power of a Dictator in case the necessity arises, ordinary affairs might very well be conducted at a distance of 20, or it may be 15 days' post, the more so if an increased latitude of action is given to the local Governments.

Given then the possibility we come simply to consider whether the best Government can be obtained in England or in Calcutta, and here we return to the point from which we broke off a little way back, for it is as we have said principally a question of men. Can we get the more efficient administrators in London or in Calcutta?

The Indian service is very peculiar. The comparative fewness of the number from which selection must be made to all appointments, and the frequency of change, are evils necessary to a foreign and tropical service. But apart from this it presents some very peculiar features. Whatever may be thought of the mode in which appointments to it have been made, it can hardly be disputed that the system produces a very striking efficiency up to a certain point.

It has been remarked that up to the age of 30, and perhaps a little later, Indian servants are in administrative efficiency, and in some sort it may be said in intellectual expansion, far ahead of their contemporaries in England. They are easily habituated to the transaction of affairs much beyond those of junior sub-employés in most countries, and being placed under circumstances which deprive them of most of the temptations of other young men they make their official employment their only resource and interest. From this results an extraordinary and early development. It may fairly be said of men of 30 in the Indian service that they present an unparalleled instance of general efficiency and frequent brilliancy. Take the men of the grade of Magistrate and Collector or Deputy Commissioner in Northern India, and it will be found that they are probably unequalled by men of the same age anywhere in the world. But from this period forward the advantage diminishes. So far they have advanced by individual practice and experience grafted on youthful energy; but beyond this point the want of attrition and communication of ideas with others, and of variety and width of social and general intercourse, begins to tell. Having got so far they seem to get little further.

They still a good deal ripen and become efficient and even remarkable men in considerable offices—Commissioners and members of Boards and administrators of small Provinces. So far still they do not fall behind their contemporaries of any other service. But as they advance still further in life the scale turns against them. Their situation is isolated, their experience and knowledge is limited to the same circle of ideas, they fall behind and become used up. It is to this that we attribute the very striking want of energy in old Indians. Nothing at first sight seems more strange than the peculiar want of great men among those who have begun so well. We see, in instances without end, men who have been most brilliant in their youth, and who in their middle age have filled great places, and determined the fortunes of millions, sinking into retired Indians who seem incapable of making one sign in the world.

Partly by long grinding in the same groove, partly from the



want of attrition and variety they have ceased to produce fruit. They are like trees which require digging about the roots.

The fact is that the service is in a transition state. It now halts between the system which produced the great men of old and one more modern. In former days the Indian Nabob was a great chap in his own way. He fixed himself in India and lived there. He thoroughly and completely understood the natives, and they understood him. In fact he added to native knowledge European energy of personal character, and that was enough to make him in India a ruler of men. The system too was in those days simple. We had not attained to refinement of administration and complication of laws, and on the same principle that the philosophers and great men among the ancients working in the unused virgin fields of human knowledge, and gathering nuggets from the yet undisturbed gold fields, attained a masculine pre-eminence which the moderns, (not necessarily inferior in intellect) cannot hope for, so those old Indian administrators attained a greatness which seldom falls to the lot of their successors. The old system has passed away. We know not the natives and the country as of yore. The machine has become infinitely more cumbrous. We must now call in the aid of European knowledge, and modern refinement. England has become more near to India, it is more frequently visited, and presently we may hope that European life will be added to Indian experience. Meantime however things have not advanced so far. Indian servants visit Europe often enough to lose their relish for the country of their adoption, and yet not enough to become Englishmen. They go to England it is true, but they are still usually strangers in the land. They may have relations and acquaintances, but the intimate friends of early manhood they have not, those are all in India. Devoted to that service from boyhood they have no root in England. The periods of their visits too are short, and the terms are hard to men who have before them the absolute necessity of making out, ere their powers fail, a very long period of service in India. When they go home they do not live the ordinary life of Englishmen. They are in every way like schoolboys on holiday. They rush about to popular sights, they do every thing in the approved style; they see a great deal and enjoy themselves much. But after all they return to India rather longing to become Englishmen than in fact English. They are no longer such single-minded Indian officials as they were, and yet they have not become European statesmen.

Another peculiarity of the Indian service is this, that men are too local and isolated. They are too much confined to

particular Provinces, to particular Departments, and to peculiar grooves of thought and action. They do not rub enough together. There is nothing of that manipulation of a question by open and unreserved oral debate which so works out prejudice and fallacy in England, and officers employed in different parts of India have scarcely any intercommunication of ideas in any shape.

Every man is a little monarch in his own district or office. It is to this that we would attribute the peculiar character of opinionativeness which is so characteristic of Indian officials. It was, we think, Lord Ellenborough who well remarked that he had met with a vast number of men in India brimful of knowledge and plans of every kind in every department, and profuse of the most admirable suggestions; he was only puzzled by this that he never yet had the good fortune to meet any two of them who agreed about any thing. Every man you meet has his own plans for setting every thing right, but he always commences by proving indisputably that every one else's plans are totally wrong.

The want of intercommunication between the public servants in the different Presidencies and Governments has done very much to aggravate this evil. It is wonderful how entire is the line of separation; and on such questions as the Land Revenue Administration it is as if the men of different Presidencies were of a different religion, so wedded are they to their own theories and so intolerant of others. The whole arrangement of the Indian administration is local not departmental. We may get men who have an extraordinary knowledge of all departments in Bengal or the North Western Provinces or Madras or Bombay, but men who are thoroughly up in any one department in all India, and who can work it without local prejudice and views, are rare.

Here then lies the great difficulty of the attempt to form in India a Central Government composed of Ministers of Departments.

Where is the man who equally comprehends the Company's and the Queen's Judicial systems and can arrange their amalgamation with an equal hand and general consent? Where is the Indian administrator to whom it would have been agreed to entrust our Revenue and Finance? Should we have a Bengalee who would give mortal offence to Madras and Bombay, or a Madrassite who would instantly order the destruction of all settlements, and the universal introduction of Ryotwarry management? Where is the Military officer really capable of instituting and administering a great Imperial military system,

who would not be looked upon with jealousy in the other Presidencies? It is not so much from the scarcity of great men but chiefly from the local associations of those whom we have; it certainly does so happen that men who would command general confidence and assent as the individual administrators of the great departments, have been very rarely found in India.

Such a man as Mr. Wilson imported from England might no doubt under present circumstances do much, but his was a very special and exceptional case. If the members of the Supreme Council were always thus imported how often should we get such a man? In how many instances would the appointment be jobbed? In how many would the nominee disappoint reasonable expectation? In how many would he turn out crochety and headstrong? In how many departments is not experience of the country absolutely indispensable? After all the prize is not of the first value to men rising to high places in England, and as the Government is at present constituted, the number of places being necessarily small, we should be very sorry to trust to appointments from England to fill the great Indian Departments in India.

The truth seems to be that if we would administer India in India we must not only entrust almost all active and initiative power to the local Governments, but we must strengthen the Supreme Government. It will not suffice merely to call the councillors ministers. It would probably be found necessary to have for each department not one man but a Committee or Board. It is universally agreed that the Supreme Government acting as a single Board cannot possibly administer all India. When we have separate departments it will still be necessary that the different Provinces should be represented in *each* department, and it will probably be desirable that each department should be strengthened by one man with a fresh English mind.

It comes then to this that to establish a complete Central Government *in India* we must add to the present establishment many additional members, and incur a very large additional expenditure at the enormous price which considerable statesmanship bears in the climate and exile of India. And after all the efficiency and success of such a government would be extremely doubtful.

Next let us look to the Home Government—what materials are there for forming an efficient administration there? The Secretary of State is, and under our Political system always must be, more frequently changed than a Governor General.



It is hardly possible that he should individually administer the Government without assistance. The assistance which he now has in the Council does not seem to have rendered the Government actively efficient. The truth seems to be that the same causes which have caused great and good men (for such many of them undoubtedly are) to decline in comparative efficiency as they reach the higher posts in India, have rendered them unequal to very active functions, still later in life after they have run their course and retired to pensions and ease. Who would have difficulty in pointing out among the Indian Council men known to possess talents of the very highest order, knowledge most extensive and minute, and every experience in the art of governing, and who yet in no way make themselves felt—such seems to be the inevitable law of Indian greatness. We cannot then look to retired old Indians for an active administration. Still less can we suppose that India would be administered to advantage by the aid of the permanent staff of the India House—men wholly ignorant of the country and who without any practical experience of any kind would form a kind of exaggeration of Bureaucracy.

Our plan would be this. •Transfer the ordinary internal Government of India in its details to the local Governments, and in its Central administration of Departments to a Government in London. With this Central Government transfer also to London the machinery available in India. In fact let the Secretary of State be assisted by the men in the prime of active service in India whose efficiency is yet undiminished, and who only require some thing of English experience and European attrition to enable them to advance much higher in efficiency, and to attain that intellectual rank in their motive age of which they have given promise in their youth. We might thus obtain a double advantage. We should greatly improve the Indian service, and at the same time provide an efficient Government in England. We would by no means withdraw these men from the Indian service. We would but make the Government in London one of the ordinary fields for the employment of Indian servants. Nor would we give Indian salaries. We would collect in a new India House in London efficient servants from all parts of India, and there in an English atmosphere and in contact with Englishmen we would round their corners, rule off their asperities, weld them together into one service, and make from them an efficient combined administration at a comparatively very moderate cost. They would in the course of promotion from time to time return to India and take with them an enlarged knowledge, sym-

pathies less local, and views more wide. It might be arranged that appointments in London should be held for a limited term of say (6) six years with a power of reappointment; and as the salaries will be adapted to an English scale so in regard to time counting for pension and such details it might be provided that 2 years served in England should count for one in India. It would probably be every way advantageous that there should be associated with these men a certain number of purely English officials. Perhaps these might be members of the administration of the day sitting in the House of Commons and representing there the Indian Government like the members of the Board of Admiralty. We must now try to give the relative limits of local and Central Administration. It is generally supposed that the local Governments can do nothing without the permission of the Supreme Government. This is not exactly correct. They can in fact do anything except make Laws and spend money. There is no rule limiting their power in other respects, and in practice there is little disposition to interfere with them. They may adopt without question administrative measures enormously affecting the income.

It is only when the money is gathered in that it is beyond their control. Once collected they certainly cannot incur new expenditure without permission, and it is perfectly clear that under the present system in the absence of any local finance it would be quite impossible that it should be otherwise. No local Government has any financial responsibility of any kind, nor is in any way bound to make both ends meet. Its wants are supplied from the imperial exchequer, and there is no pressing motive to economy. Add to this the peculiar localness (if we may coin a word) and opinionativeness of public men in India, and it will be understood how much check is required. There is an extraordinary disposition to local partizanship. Every man looks at things through his own local spectacles, and honestly seeks the advantage of his own people rather than the general interests of the Empire. The best men too carry their opinions to extremes. Nothing is more melancholy than to observe how much after a hundred years experience we must be still at sea on the greatest questions if we may judge by the extreme diversity of opinion, and the deplorable way in which at different times and places our policy seems to oscillate from one extreme to another. We have gone among the people in their fields, their villages, and their courts in many far distant parts of India, and we are much convinced that throughout the greater part of the continent the country is in essentials one, and that the same principles are applicable throughout. Yet we

have in one part of India the universal establishment of a village system whether it before existed or not; in another the uncompromising destruction of those same communities in form of a Ryotwarry tenure going on at the present day. Nay more we have, in the same part of India, the Government one year absolutely ousting the superior holders in order to discover or create village communities, and in the very next year following an exactly opposite policy.

We have already observed that after all money is every thing and it certainly does happen that very few things can be done without money, and hence the local Governments are at present in practice tied down in their executive action in an extraordinary degree by the want of money.

This tightness of bondage cannot be relaxed as things now stand, and in some administrative matters a little more central control and supervision would undoubtedly give a greater consistency and cohesion to the empire.

But it is in the strictness of very profuse and detailed laws leaving no power of local regulation that the check of the central Government is at least as much felt as in matters of Finance. It is certainly the case that a local Government desirous to experiment and improve is checked at every turn by legal difficulties, and that it cannot surmount these till it has made out a very strong case for a very critical central Legislature.

This evil is undoubtedly enormous. It is the old story of not going into the water till we are able to swim. No experiment can be made till its success is assured before hand. Now we are far from decrying the establishment of Laws clear, intelligible and fixed. It is the excessive minuteness of regulations established as imperial enactments before the country is ripe for them which has caused the evil.

This question of Regulation and Non-Regulation is often very imperfectly understood by those who use the terms. We will here try to explain it. No part of India is absolutely free from the action of the Legislative Council. Acts of universal application as they are passed are put in force throughout India. But the difference between the Punjab and one of the Presidencies is this, that previous to the introduction of a central Legislature, the local Governments had been in the habit of recording their local rules under the not inapt name of 'regulations.' Many of these were meant to take the place of local Laws, but many more were by no means of that character. They were in fact executive rules for the guidance of the executive officers of Government on various matters of very petty detail. When a Legislature was established the great mistake was made of con-



sidering all these previous local regulations to be laws, and stereotyping them as such. Since that time not only have the Governments of Provinces received the Laws which have been made, as avoidly Imperial enactments, but the whole of the minute regulations of their predecessors have been stereotyped and placed beyond their power to alter. The present Legislative Council too, while it has done considerable good in some things, has shewn a not unnatural disposition to stretch its functions and its power, and has been little disposed to leave anything to the discretion of the local Governments.

In the Punjab on the other hand we commenced with a clear field. The local regulations of Bengal, Madras or Bombay could in no way be construed to have the force of laws in the Punjab. In the absence then of British Laws the state of things is this. The British Government has acquired a new country. Is there to be absolute anarchy till the Legislative Council has time to construct a complete code of laws for that country? Certainly not. The Government recognises the native customs of the country, and introduces in the first instance such portions of its own laws as it thinks fit, but not the whole. For the rest it simply succeeds to the despotic power exercised by the former ruler, and it uses that power to make from time to time local rules at its discretion without in the first instance fettering itself by making all those rules law, through the action of the Legislative Council. This we are quite convinced is the foundation of the legitimate power of Government in Non-Regulation Provinces: from this point forward, Law, restraining and narrowing the despotic power, may properly and naturally be gradually introduced. As the Central Legislature acquires on each particular subject sufficient materials for legislating with confidence for the whole Empire it passes laws as applicable to the Punjab as to Bengal. But the Punjab has this great advantage that, till those laws are made, the Governor's hands are not absolutely tied as they are in other parts of India.

This then is in great measure the secret of the success of what is known as the Punjab system. It is not the absence of rule but the power of local administration. Individual officers are as strictly controlled in the Punjab as elsewhere. Indeed not even in the Regulation Provinces are the district officers under stricter rule and a more iron discipline than in the Punjab. Although the rules may differ from the Regulations yet rules there are rigorous and minute. It is not mere license to every man to do as he likes, and to administer justice according to equity and common sense. Much is no doubt due to Sir John Lawrence. He is no ordinary great man. Perhaps we have had so many

Heroes, and Hero worship has become so much an object of suspicion to thinking men, that some people may be somewhat inclined to fail in sufficient justice to a real Hero. They may be assured that the man who made the British Punjab first, and reconquered Hindoostan by its aid afterwards, is not one of the ordinary Heroes. In a fine service abounding with great men, past and present, he is still without a peer, and it is another instance of the want of our Indian system that he is only appreciated by his countrymen when after a long course of service his health is for the present exhausted. If we had John Lawrences in the prime of their health to administer Departments, departmental Government in India would be easy enough. But we are digressing. We were about to say that although so much is due to Sir John Lawrence individually there also really is a great deal in the Non-Regulation system. Tied by the old regulations even Lawrence could have done little. The state of things in the Punjab was this. In executive and financial matters the ruler of the Punjab by no means exercised a wider latitude than the Governors of Provinces, but on the contrary was in many ways a good deal more restricted; and the attention of the Supreme Government having been efficiently directed to the Punjab under the able rule of Lord Dalhousie, the influence of the Central Government was probably beneficial. When Sir Henry Lawrence was head of the administration it is well known that his views were in many things opposed to those of his brother. He also was no ordinary great man. He had comprehensive ideas, a noble genius, a rare power of commanding and conciliating men, comprehensive ideas, and unbounded benevolence. The Supreme Government interfered to give due weight to the views of the younger brother. Again, in the earlier days of his rule Sir John Lawrence was probably a severe administrator. He might have exacted a very full measure from natives and Europeans. Here again the influence of the Supreme Government was beneficial. But on the other hand the grand advantage in the Punjab was that the Chief Commissioner was enabled to modify and improve at his discretion the system in which he had been educated, without being checked at every turn by minute Law beyond his power to alter. The Punjab system throughout is but a modification of that which preceded it in the N. W. Provinces, and in that modification has consisted the improvement. The regulated and supervised freedom of action and experiment in the hands of the local Government is everything. It must be confessed that we still know India very imperfectly. We can but advance by constant experiment, and in this respect it cannot be doubted that the

advantages of local latitude far exceed those of centralization. What we should do is to localize practice, but to concentrate experience and administrative generalization. We should not check experiment, but we should generalize the successful results of experiment. In fact the great function of the Central Government should be to extend whatever has distinctly succeeded in one Province to other Provinces, and to check only the tendency to carry opinions to extreme, not to check all the action which may tend to success. Hitherto it has been just the reverse. All action has been checked, and no occasional success has been generalized.

One word as to the Legislative Council. We have already more than once alluded to it. It has not been useless. It has done much good work. It has been in fact the best Law-making body we have yet had, and has not only concocted, but has passed and brought into active operation a very good code of Civil Procedure. But a real code of Civil Law it is not equal to constructing, and already the Penal Procedure code has stuck fast over some very delicate questions which the Council with difficulty grapples. The questions which have arisen regarding the independence and Political power of the Council threaten its existence. There has grown up in it a not unnatural disposition on the part of individual members to look to popular applause which may be very inconvenient if the Council continues to be in Law what it may at any time aspire to be in fact a real Legislature and more than a Law Commission. Seeing that the members are limited in number, that they are professed men of business and that their only power and business is Legislation, their disposition to exercise that function in a too minute and critical spirit is not surprising. They certainly do leave too little latitude to the local Governments. Altogether their own impression is that the Council has already performed its part.

Here then is our scheme. The Supreme Executive and Legislative Councils in Calcutta to be virtually transferred to London. The Governor General to remain with an establishment corresponding to that which he now has, the rank and salary of the Secretaries being about the same as now. The Home and Financial and Public Works Secretaries might probably be replaced by one Chief Civil Secretary. There would be a Foreign or Political, a Military and a Civil Secretary as well as the present Heads of Special Departments. The Governor General to retain the present functions directly exercised by the Supreme Government subject to any modifications which may be deemed desirable. He would have the political relations, the



army and the special departments, and he would be armed with the power to assume an avowed dictatorship in the event of emergency, but would not ordinarily interfere with the internal civil management of the local Governments.

The Imperial Finance we would thus arrange.

The sea customs and opium revenue (the latter is practically an export duty) and the tributes from native states we would place in the hands of the Governor General as Imperial resources. It would rest with him to provide for the Home Government the interest of the debt, and probably the whole of the regular army including those of Madras and Bombay. The management of the European army might very well be centralized, and we may trust that the regular native army will hereafter be very small indeed. To provide what is required for these Imperial expenses in excess of the Imperial Revenues we would assess each local Government in a sum fixed in proportion to the area, population, and wealth of its territory, and that sum paid the Governor General would not interfere further in local finance.

The local Governments would manage their own affairs in subordination to the Central Government in London. Each would have its own Finance, each would be bound to levy taxes sufficient to meet its own requirements. After paying its tribute to the Central Government it would have to provide for its own administration, police and all other expenses, and Financial responsibility being thus imposed on it, the restrictions with regard to financial details would be withdrawn. It would of course make all necessary reports to the Central Government in England under rules which would avoid the enormous paper system hitherto prevailing. It would send in its budget at the beginning of each year, and at the end of each it would shew exactly the state of its ways and means and how far its expectations have been fulfilled or disappointed. It would either shew an actual surplus at the disposal of the Home Government or it would openly avow a deficit and propound for meeting it.

Then as to Legislation we would make the rule this.

All Regulations made by local Governments it should be in the power of the local Governments to alter, and a rapid commission would run over the Acts passed since 1834, and settle which are to be classed with the local regulations and which are to take permanent place as Imperial Acts. It would remain in the power of the local Governments to make all local rules and regulations not inconsistent with the Imperial Acts from time to time established. Any addition or alteration of these latter would rest with the Imperial Indian Legislative which we would place at home.

The Councils of the local Governments we would abolish. The heads of departments are the natural councillors of the Governor. These already exist, and it would only be necessary to dispense with the present councillors at Madras and Bombay whose sole business is to advise. But as we would by no means dispense with public regulations for the guidance of local officers, and it would be desirable that such rules should be fully discussed, although we would not go the length of establishing any thing like a real local Legislature, we would certainly give to each Governor a large open consultative council in which he should be bound to make all rules and regulations, after giving opportunity for public discussion. Of this Council all the heads of Departments and Chief Secretaries to Government would be ex-officio members, and we would add to it a considerable proportion of independent members, both European merchants and settlers, and a good many of the best natives of the province. We would try to induce natives of real influence and knowledge, (and who might be regarded as an index to the public feeling of the province) to take an active part in the proceedings of this Council. The Governor would always have the power to overrule the Council, but he would probably seldom do so.

In this way then an abundantly sufficient latitude would certainly be given to the local Governments, but we should look to an efficient Government in England to keep all the local Governments well in hand and to work them for active good. As we have said, it would principally rest with the Home Government to select for generalization the most successful results of each local administration. We should not require in the centre too much individual activity but rather a thorough sifting and discussion, and a deliberate well considerate and positive decision of great questions. Perhaps the number of men employed would not be very much less than the establishment now existing at the India House. But it will be remembered that we have saved the whole of the Councils in India, Supreme and Local, and some of the Secretaries. And say £2,000 a year in England would command the best Officers, in the Indian service. It might be allowed to each local Governor to nominate a councillor subject to the approval of the Secretary of State and to the minister to select one from each Government, and an equal number from among his political followers; these together to form the Home Administration. All the Indian councillors would be appointed for 5 years, the English politicians during pleasure. These councillors or whatever they might be called would be active func-

tionaries and supercede the permanent Heads of Departments. Each would have a portfolio of his own and they would again be grouped together into committees for the discussion of all important questions. The whole sitting together under the Presidency of the Secretary of State would form the Central Legislature, subject only to the commands of Her Majesty conveyed by the Secretary of State. The Secretaries to Committees and most of the higher officers of the establishment would be selected from the Indian Services. A committee aided by one or two efficient jurists would form a law commission for the digestion and codification of laws, and thus as codes are formed and local laws accepted and adapted for general use, they would be passed as imperial laws, and would so far gradually limit the power of local regulation.

In connection with the Government at Home it would probably be desirable to establish a Supreme Court of Justice peculiarly fitted to deal with Indian appeals.

How far this scheme may be fitted to solve the difficult question of Indian Government others must judge. We will say no more.

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- ART. VII.—1. *Annual Reports of Pegu Administration: from 1856 to 1860.*
2. *Mission to the Court of Ava.* By LIEUTENANT COLONEL H. YULE.

THERE is hardly any portion of our Eastern Empire, which, whether we regard the genius and temper of its people and the peculiarities of their religion, or the natural characteristics of their country, affords better material for the composition of an amusing and instructive work than the Provinces of British Burmah. Such a book however has yet to be written. We have, it is true, able disquisitions on special subjects connected with the country, such as Dr. Mason's Fauna and Flora,—Dr. Bigandet's Treatise on the Gaudama of the Burmese and others that might be named, but a competent writer who will do for Burmah what Sir J. Bowring has done for Siam or Sir E. Tennent for Ceylon is still a desideratus.

Colonel Yule's book, which we have placed at the head of this article, being the narrative of the Mission to Amerapoora in 1855, relates chiefly to the territories now under the King of Ava. The reader will not therefore find in it much detailed information regarding British Burmah as it now is. But the work, abounding in anecdote, narrative, fact, and description, and beautifully elucidated by maps, by wood-cuts, and coloured illustrations, is most interesting to the general student of Asiatic history, ethnology, and geography. In as much as the work affords much fundamental information regarding Burmah and the Burmese, and is calculated to raise a kindly interest in the country and people, it ought to be in the hands of every British Officer, employed in the administration of Pegu.

In order to give some idea of the literary calibre of the work, we shall cite three passages, which appear to be full of beauty and interest and to be marked by sound knowledge and graphic power. But in fact the whole work abounds with interesting passages and our citations comprise only a very few of the selections which might be made.

The following passage descriptive of a sunset view of the city of Amerapoora deserves a high place.

"But the view from the platform would have repaid a much more fatiguing ascent than this. The scene was one to be registered in the memory with some half-dozen others which cannot be forgotten. Nothing on the Rhine could be compared to it. At the point where the temple stood, the Irawadi forms a great elbow, almost indeed a right angle, coming down to us from the north, but here diverted to the west. Northward

the wide river stretched, embracing innumerable islands, till seemingly hemmed in and lost among the mountains. Behind us, curving rapidly round the point on which we stood, it passed away to the westward, and was lost in the blaze of a dazzling sunset. North-westward ran the little barren, broken ridges of Sagain, every point and spur of which was marked by some monastic building or pagoda. Nearly opposite to us lay Amerapoor, with just enough haze upon its temples and towers to lend them all the magic of an Italian city. A great belt-shaped spire, rising faintly white in the middle of the town, might well pass for a great Duomo. You could not discern that the domes and spires were those of dead heathen masses of brick-work, and that the body of the city was bamboo and thatch. It might have been Venice, it looked so beautiful. Behind it rose range after range of mountains robed in blue enchantment. Between our station and the river was only a narrow strip of intense green foliage, mingled with white temples, spires, and cottage roofs. The great elbow of the river below us, mirroring the shadows of the wood on its banks, and the glowing clouds above, had been like a lake, were it not that the downward drift of the war-boats, as they crossed and re-crossed, marked so distinctly the rapidity of the kingly stream. The high bank of the river, opposite Sagain eastward, was seen to be a long belt of island covered with glorious foliage (and there are no trees like those of Burmah); only here and there rose an unwooded crest, crowned with its Cybeleian cornet of towers. Behind this were numerous other wooded islands, or isolated villages, and temples, and monasteries, rising directly out of the flood waters. Southward, across the river, was the old city of Ava, now a thicket of tangled gardens and jungle, but marked by the remaining spires of temples. On this side lay Sagain quite buried in a rich mass of tamarind-trees.

A great deal of the beauty of the scene was, doubtless, due to the singularly fine atmosphere of the evening. But our impression was that the Lake of Como could not be finer, and those who had seen Como said that it was not."

The following passages are interesting as shewing the past greatness of the Pegu Province as contrasted with the decadence from which, we may hope, it will soon revive under British Rule.

"In 1569 Cæsar Frederick, a Venetian merchant, was in Pegu, and gave a very interesting account of that country. That same "Brama of Toungoo" was on the throne, who was said to have twenty and six crowned heads at his command, and to be able to bring into the field a million and a half of men of war? "For people, dominions, gold and silver," Master Frederick hesitates not to say, "he far excels the power of the Great Turk in treasure and strength."

These expressions seem utterly preposterous, when we see what Pegu and Burmah are in our day. All the old travellers use similar superlative terms in speaking of the Peguan monarchy at this time. Yet Frederick, and Fitch, who followed him a few years later, are men who give a sober and true account of other matters, in which we still may compare their descriptions with facts as they are.

It may, perhaps, be remarked, that only at the end of the last century the spectacles of Colonel Symes appear to have shown him in Burmah a magnificent and civilized empire, including a population which he estimated at seventeen millions. Later experience has proved that the Colonel's view of the magnificence and civilization was as exaggerated as his estimate of the population.

But, making allowance for a similar tendency to the over-estimation of so distant a region by the older travellers, in reading their narratives it is impossible to resist the conviction that the lower provinces, at least of the Irawadi, exhibited in the sixteenth century a much more flourishing and wealthy community than now exists in the delta, and we have, in the subsequent history of the country, the causes of a great deterioration. The splendour of the Peguan monarchy was very short-lived. In the time of the son of the conquering Prince came a succession of internal and external wars, during which the country was harassed and devastated, both by the cruelties of the savage king, and by invasions from Arracan, Siam, Toungoo, and Ava, by all which Pegu was reduced to the depths of desolation and misery; insomuch that Purchas, in a curious chapter "on the destruction and desolation of Pegu," collected from the writings of numerous eye-witnesses, his contemporaries, thinks it appropriate to observe, that "the natives of Pegu are not quite extinct, but many of them are fled into other kingdoms." Notices of the history of Pegu are defective during the greater part of the seventeenth century, and I do not know what further wars took place during that period. But towards the middle of the century following came its temporary re-assertion of independence and even of supremacy, and its rapidly succeeding subjection to the vengeance of Alompra. It is not surprising that Pegu should never have recovered from calamities so repeated and disastrous. History scarcely justifies the expectation that countries should recover, even in long periods of comparative repose, from such universal and thorough devastation. And the habits of the Burman races are not favourable to increase of population. A singularly small proportion of their children live to maturity."

"In March 1600, Boves, another Jesuit, writes that he was in the country when the king, besieged by the kings of Arracan and Toungoo, surrendered and was put to death. "It is a lamentable spectacle," says the Padre, "to see the banks of the rivers, set with infinite fruit-bearing trees, now overwhelmed with ruins of gilded temples and noble edifices; the ways and fields full of skulls and bones of wretched Peguans, killed or famished, and cast into the river in such numbers that the multitude of carcases prohibiteth the way and passage of any ships; to omit the burnings and massacres committed by this, the cruellest tyrant that ever breathed."

Lastly we think that the following passage is a fine specimen of geographical description; accurate, vigorous and comprehensive.

"The Burman territories, as they were in 1852, might be divided conveniently, but not with any great precision, into four parts. 1st, *Northern Burmah*, including a variety of sparse and alien population, Singphos, Shans, and what not, under more or less imperfect subjection. 2nd, *Burmah Proper*, inhabited by pure Burmans only, or by the descendants of foreign captives. 3rd, *Pegu*, whether taken as the Delta of the Irawadi, or as the Burman vice-royalty of Henzawadi, or as the original Talain kingdom. Taken as the British Province now bearing the name, it extends to lat. 19° 27', and considerably beyond the largest of the former definitions. 4th, the *Eastern Shan tributary states*, extending in longitude from the mountains of the Red Karens to the Cambodia river.

The last possess a certain independence of jurisdiction, having more and more of the reality as they recede from the shadow of the Golden Palace.

The gorge, through which the waters of the sacred Brahmaputra burst out from the Brahmakoond into the valley of Assam, is formed by the convergence of two great mountain chains, which fence that valley from west to east.



The Northern chain, the Himalaya, stretching far beyond Assam, bounds that valley, but as it bounds all India with its awful barrier of unchanging snow. The southern, a chain of far less altitude and celebrity, and of no one name, is co-extensive with the valley which it limits and defines, and may conveniently be termed the Assam chain, as it has been, I believe, in some Atlases. Rising suddenly from the plains of Eastern Bengal, as from a sea, about 220 miles N. E. of Calcutta, it stretches eastward in a broadening chaos of woody spurs and ridges, and grassy undulating table-lands, taking successively the names of the races which inhabit it, Garos, Kasias, and Nagas of many tribes; ever increasing in the elevation of its highest points, from 3000 and 4000 feet among the Garos, to 6000 among the Kasias, 8000 and 9000 in the region north of Munnipoor, till, sweeping north-eastward in a wide mass of mountain of which the general direction only is known, it emerges to knowledge again as the Pat-koi, traversed by the Burman armies in their Assamese inroads; farther on abreast of the Brahmakoond it rises to a height of 12,000 and 14,000 feet, and then, coming in contact with the spurs of the waning Himalayas, lifts itself into the region of eternal snow, and stretching still eastward embraces its northern rival, and forms that amphitheatre of snowy peaks, glorious, doubtless, but unseen as yet by European eye, in which the Brahmaputra has its earliest springs.

This lofty prolongation of the southern chain, known now as the Langtang, sends down from the snows of its southern face the head-waters of the Irawadi. Beyond the eastern sources of the river it strikes southward a great meridian chain, snow-capt in places like the parent ridge, and from old time the bounding wall of China to the westward. It is called by the Singpho tribes, which cluster round the roots of all these mountains of northern Burmah, the Goolansigoung, and its offshoots stretch with a variety of breaks and ramifications, of which we know nothing precisely, but ever tending southward, between the Irawadi and the Salwen, till one of its great spurs almost reaches the sea near Martaban, where it parts the Salwen from the big-mouthed Sitang. Nearly abreast of Toungoo, and 170 miles north of Martaban, this chain is known to attain an elevation of 8000 feet.

The snowy range of Langtang projects its shorter spurs between the branches of the Irawadi, and this side the westerly branch it sends down an offshoot called the Shwé-doung-gyi, separating the Irawadi from the springs of the Kyen-dwen.

Still farther westward in the Naga country, between longitude 93° and 95°, a great multifarious mass of mountains starts southwards from the Assam chain. Enclosing first the level alluvial valley of Munnipoor, at a height of 2,500 feet above the sea, it then spreads out westward to Tipura and the coast of Chittagong and northern Arracan a broad succession of unexplored and forest-covered spurs, inhabited by a vast variety of wild tribes of Indo-Chinese kindred, known as Kookis, Nagas, Khyens, and by many more specific names. Contracting to a more defined chain, or to us more defined because we know it better, this meridian range still passes southward under the name of the Arracan Yuma-doung, till 700 miles from its origin in the Naga wilds it sinks in the sea hard by Negrais, its last bluff crowned by the golden Pagoda of Modain, gleaming far to seaward, a Burmese Sunium. Fancy might trace the submarine prolongation of the range in the dotted line of the Preparis, the Cocos, the Andamans, the Nicobars, till it emerges again to traverse Sumatra and the vast chain of the Javanic isles.

Between these two great meridian ranges that have been indicated, the one eastward of the Irawadi and the Sitang, the other westward of the Kyen-dwen and the Irawadi, lie what have been characterised above as the first three divisions of the Burman territory, and these before the detachment of Pegu might have been considered as forming the kingdom of Bur-

mah. The divisions are, however, too undefined to be closely maintained in a general geographical description.

The tract enclosed by these ranges is not to be conceived of as a plain like the vast levels that stretch from the base of Himalayas. It is rather a varied surface of rolling up land, interspersed with alluvial basins and sudden ridges of hill. The Burman is himself nowhere a dweller in the mountains, though thus girt round with a noble mountain barrier.

With such a frontier, with neighbours who only wished to be let alone, with such a trunk line from end to end of his dominions as the Irawadi, with his teak forests, and his mineral riches and his fisheries, his wheat, cotton, and rice lands, a world of eager traders to the eastward, and the sea open in front, the King of Ava's dominion was a choice one, had not incurable folly and arrogance deprived him of his best advantages, cast down the barriers of his kingdom, and brought British cantonments and custom-houses within his borders."

Pegu and its sister Provinces are by no means destitute of representatives in the realms of light literature. Taking advantage of the general ignorance of the subject among the Home Public, more than one would-be litterateur has rushed into print with Burmah and the Burmese as a *cheval de bataille*. The productions of these bookmakers are for the most part contemptible, but as they rightly calculated, the readiness of the human mind to accept as truth what it cannot confute, has shielded them from the hostile criticism which they deserve.

Among the latest of these literary pretenders is one Mr. Marshall, who introduces himself to the public as "late Editor of the Rangoon Chronicle." His Book, "Four years in Burmah," is but a rechauffé of the Moulmein Almanack, dressed up by an ignorant and unpractised hand, with copious plagiarisms from Mason's Natural History and a few other books, the whole eked out with the personal adventures of the Author in Rangoon and Moulmein and flavoured with a strong dash of egotism. This gentleman too, appears to have escaped the critical castigation he so well deserved. Indeed he has been rather belauded than otherwise. In reading one notice of his work in a Home Literary Paper (the *Athenæum*) we were reminded of the good wife who declared that she was ready to believe in mountains of sugar and rivers of milk, but utterly sceptical as to the existence of "fish that could flee." The critic accepts with ignorant approbation all the flagrant blunders which abound in this book, wherever the author attempts to touch upon the history, religion or manners and customs of the country, but condemns his *penchant* for exaggeration, and singles out for special reprobation an account of the Mosquito Creeks of Burmah, where, says our author, sailors have been so persecuted by those annoying insects as to have jumped overboard in a fit of frenzy induced

by their bites. A description of an alligator 45 feet long is also cavilled at by our critic. Now the mosquito incident is a fact that has really happened, and the dimensions of the alligator are by no means impossible.

As Mr. Marshall and his cognate ephemera afford us no material from which to draw an opinion regarding the present state and prospects of our Burman Provinces, we turn to a less pretentious but more reliable source of information, viz., the yearly Administration Reports which have been prepared by Colonel Phayre and are found in the annual Indian Blue-Books. The first of these reports was published in 1856 and contained a resumé of the progress of the Province of Pegu from the time of annexation up to the date of publication. Since then the Reports have been published annually and from them we will extract a few facts regarding the material prosperity of this interesting Province.

Our acquisitions of territory from the "Lord of the Celestial 'Elephants, Master of many white Elephants and Great Chief 'of Righteousness" have been made on two occasions. In 1826 by the Treaty of Yandabo, we contented ourselves with taking (in addition to a war indemnity of one crore of rupees) the three poor and outlying Provinces of Assam, Arrakan and Tenasserim, as compensation for 30 years of insults and annoyances suffered by us at the hands of the Burmese Government and its insolent satraps. Twenty-six years later in 1852 a second series of public and private wrongs forced us into the sequestration of the Province of Pegu, the earliest conquest of the gallant Aloung 'Bhoora, and the fairest jewel in the Crown of his descendants.

Of the 144,000 square miles which constituted the Burmese Empire at the acme of its prosperity under old Mengtaragyee in 1819, we are now in possession of 100,000 square miles,\* whilst of the two and a half millions who probably constitute the whole of the Burmese population at the present day (and among them we include the Karengs, Talouings and other cog-

	Square miles.					
* Pegu,	...	...	...	...	...	32,300
Tenasserim and Martaban,	...	...	...	...	...	37,000
Arrakan,	...	...	...	...	...	10,700
Assam,	...	...	...	...	...	20,000 (?)
Total	...	...	...	...	...	100,000



nate tribes) upwards of one and a half million now recognize the beneficent sway of Queen Victoria.\*

Although the proclamation of Lord Dalhousie annexing Pegu to the British Territories in the East was promulgated at Rangoon on the 20th December 1852, the Province was not completely cleared of Burman troops and Burman banditti until the beginning of 1854. Powerless to resist the British troops in the field, the Burman Government, ostensibly acquiescing in, though not formally consenting to, the annexation of Pegu, long continued to foment those intestine disorders, for which their own former misgovernment of the country had provided them with ready instruments. Most of their inferior and many of their superior Civil officers were in league with all the bad characters of their districts, shielding them from punishment and sharing in their plunder. The capture of Rangoon in April 1852 was the signal for these men to release themselves from the slender bond of responsibility by which they had hitherto been bound to the Lord Paramount at Amerapoor, and they now took the open lead of those gangs of desperadoes at whose existence they had formerly connived. Each became a quasi-independent Robber-Chief, and for upwards of a year, the interior of the Province was a prey to anarchy and violence of the most ruthless kind. Although these excesses were committed without the authority of the present Burman King, the authors of them were patronized and secretly encouraged by various members of the Burman Government to continue their desultory attacks, though the object of them was not the invading British force—but their own unoffending countrymen. Two of the bandit-leaders who were pre-eminent among the rest were Mounng Myat Htoon and Mounng Goung-gyee. The former was the hereditary Thoogyee of a small circle in the Danoobu district. Even in the Burmese time he had been considered a rebellious character, and on the annexation of Pegu he harried the country round him, carried off all the population and established himself in a strong stockade situated in the midst of swamps and dense jungle, about 20 miles from the river-bank, determined apparently to hold his own against all comers. He succeeded in repulsing a force of seamen and sepoys under

	Population.					
* Pegu,	...	...	...	...	...	900,000
Arracan,	...	...	...	...	...	362,000
Tenasserim and Martaban,	...	...	...	...	...	332,000
Total						1,594,000

The population of Burmah Proper probably does not much exceed one million.

Captain Loch, R. N., who was killed in the attack, and was only dislodged by a formidable force which was sent against him under Sir J. Cheape, K. C. B. He escaped across the frontier and owing to the spirited resistance he had made to the British, easily succeeded in making his peace with the Court at Amrapoora. The chief Goung-gyee had also been a local officer in the Tharawaddy district, and though he had been deposed by the Burman Government just before the war he maintained his position and defeated two Burmese Armies that went out against him. Having tasted the sweets of independence he refused, upon the downfall of the Burman power, to recognise the authority of the British. He kept up a spirited opposition to our arms until the beginning of 1855, when being hard pressed by our troops he escaped into the Burmese territory and was of course well received by the officials there. Some years later his restless spirit again conceived the project of disturbing the British authority in his old district—but the Burman Government, fearing the complications which might arise, discouraged the attempt. He persisted—and secret orders from the Burman Capital caused him to be decapitated just outside our frontier in 1858. Dacoity, to which the Burman is always prone, has been fostered by anarchy into a national characteristic, too deeply seated to be summarily eradicated, and though this propensity has now in a great measure been overcome by the steady energy of Colonel Phayre and some of his able subordinates, its existence is still prolonged by the organized bands of marauders, who now and then come over our frontier to plunder a village and hurry back again before they can be overtaken by our police—as well as by the proportion of bad characters who are comprised in the bands of immigrants who annually cross our frontier from the Northward. The returns of 1858 shew 50 cases of gang-robbery attended with murder within the Province, but of these no less than 37 were committed in the frontier district of Prome and chiefly by trans-frontier bandits. These attacks were unusually prevalent in 1858 and were no doubt secretly encouraged by a certain party at the Burman Capital, who were anxiously watching the progress of events in India, with reference to the possibility of a reconquest of Pegu. As we gradually retightened our grasp upon India, so did the Burman Dacoits relax their attempts to shake our authority upon their frontier. Although our nominal acquisition of Pegu dates from December 1852 we could not call ourselves undisputed masters of the country till the beginning of 1854. The last place to which the Burmans clung was the small but fertile district of Mengdoon upon the frontier. This was the appanage of the present king before his

accession to the throne, and from it he derives the name by which he is generally distinguished, viz. the "Mengdoon Meng." A Governor was deputed to this place from Amerapoora so late as September 1853 and he did not quit it till March 1854—marching out of the place only as Colonel Phayre marched in. From that time the work of pacification and civil organization proceeded apace. The Province was divided into six districts—Rangoon, Bassein, Prome, Henzada, Tharawaddy and Toungoo, each of which is under a Deputy Commissioner with a staff of Assistants and extra Assistants proportionate to the requirements of the district. An immense number of petty local offices which existed under the Burmese Government were abolished. The policy of that Government appears to have been to divide authority as much as possible. Many portions of the country were cut up into small tracts, only a few square miles in extent, each of which was assigned for the support of a particular war-boat, the "Paineng" or helmsman of that boat having almost absolute authority, extending even to the powers of life and death, within such tracts. Various other territorial divisions of the country existed presided over by officers of various denominations, each of whom had a different system of administration, but all with one common object—viz., to enrich themselves as speedily as possible by the oppression of the people. The relief afforded to the people by sweeping away this horde of petty tyrants was inexpressible. The different grades of native officials appointed by the British Government are as follows. Tseetkais—Myoo-kes, Thoogyees and Goungs. The Tseetkais, corresponding nearly to the Principal Sudder Ameens in Bengal, are merely judicial officers appointed at the sudder stations of each district to try simple criminal cases and civil suits up to a certain limit of value, which limit is generally fixed at Rs. 3,000. Their pay amounts to Rs. 200 or 250 a month. A Myoo-ke is placed over a "Myo" or Township within which he has powers of every description—Civil, Criminal, and Fiscal. He decides all civil cases which do not exceed Rs. 500 in value and can punish petty thefts or assaults by fine or imprisonment in the stocks. In the Revenue Department he exercises a general supervision over the Thoogyees who are the actual Collectors of Revenue. The area of a Township varies from 200 to 600 square miles. There are 65 Townships in the province. The pay of a Myoo-ke varies from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per mensem. A Thoogyee presides over a "Toik" or circle, exercising within it both Revenue and Police powers. In the upper portion of the province the circles are mostly small (from 10 to 20 square miles) and the Thoogyees generally hereditary, holding their appointments under royal



grants made by king "Bhodan-Bhoova" in A. D. 1783, when a doomsday book of a large portion of the empire was compiled. On the annexation of the province it was of course advisable to confirm these hereditary headmen in their ancestral rights. In the lower portion of the province the succession to Toik-Thoogyeeships is not hereditary and the circles are generally large—from 100 to 250 square miles in extent. The Thoogyees are paid by a percentage upon their collections, a plan which so far as we are aware does not exist in any part of India.

"This System on economic grounds alone has much to recommend it, as it binds up the interests of the Thoogyee with those of Government. Any increase in the Government Revenue brings a proportionate addition to the Thoogyee's income, and he consequently exerts himself to the utmost to add to the cultivation and population of his circle. If in the receipt of a fixed salary the powerful motive of self-interest would be gone, and except when immediately under the eye of a superior, he would discharge his duties at the best in a perfunctory manner and would shirk all extra trouble and expense. National prejudices also point to this as the best way of securing efficient men for Thoogyeeships. The Burmans as a race have not only a want of zeal in, but a decided distaste to, any kind of employment for which they are remunerated by a fixed monthly salary which seems to them as it were a badge of servitude. While men of influence and substance will for the status which it gives them, gladly accept the Thoogyeeship of a small circle of which the annual commission does not amount to more than Rs. 40 or 50 per annum, it is sometimes difficult to obtain respectable individuals to fill the appointment of Village Goung on a salary of Rs. 10 per mensem, i. e., two or three times as much as his superior the Thoogyee receives."

This objection to the system of fixed monthly salaries is peculiar to the genius of the people and liked as little by master as by servant. Witness the remark made by one of the magnates of the Burman Capital to Colonel Playre.—"If I am bound to pay a man a certain fixed salary, then I am his servant, instead of he being mine."

Subordinate to the Toik-Thoogyees are the "Goungs" (literally Heads) or rural constabulary, who are appointed over, on an average, every hundred families. Their salary, Rs. 10 per mensem, is less than a common coolie can earn in many portions of the province and is not sufficient therefore to secure efficient men for the appointments. In addition to these village Goungs there is a semi-Military Police Force of about 1800 men divided into three Battalions and stationed in the districts of Bassein, Prome and Tharawaddy. These Battalions are under the Deputy Commissioner of the district and have each two European non-Commissioned officers attached to them. The one at Prome has also two European Commissioned officers in charge of the Frontier Ports. The men are all natives of the Province. When the Madras Native Troops at present quarter-

ed in Pegu are got rid of the present Police will of course have to undergo a thorough remodelling. As soldiers or even as members of a semi-Military Police Force, the volatile and impatient Burmans will not succeed without a large admixture of other races. The Pegu Light Infantry Battalion is indeed kept in a serviceable condition by the exertions of its Commandant, Colonel Nuthall, but even in that Regiment cases of desertion and unfaithfulness have been not unfrequent. The Malay element is the best which it contains, but unfortunately these gallant little fellows are not procurable in any great numbers. As detectives Burmans must always be employed in Pegu, and in this branch of the profession they are no mean adepts, but for men who will satisfactorily discharge the less exciting but not less important routine duties of a Policeman, the recruiting officer must beat up amongst other nationalities.

For the first three years of our occupation of Pegu, the Revenue advanced with mighty strides. Since then it has exhibited a slower but still steadily progressive tendency. The annual collections and disbursements on account of Civil salaries, establishment, &c. up to 1858-59 are as follows:

	<i>Collections.</i>	<i>Disbursements.</i>
1853-54	Rs. 12,44,767	...
1854-55	„ 23,30,603	...
1855-56	„ 30,21,062	Rs. 17,01,181
1856-57	„ 34,90,418	„ 26,62,734
1857-58	„ 40,81,477	„ 26,13,906
1858-59	„ 45,31,120	„ 23,76,573

The population of the province may be taken in round numbers to be 900,000. The proportion of Revenue to population therefore amounts to about Rs. 5 per head. More than a fourth of the Revenue is derived from the land. This has risen from Rs. 3,63,620 in the first year to Rs. 12,08,408 in the fifth year of our rule. The average annual amount of direct land-tax yielded to the Burman Government is supposed to have been about Rs. 1,90,000 or about one-eighth of the total Revenue derived from the province. The land Revenue system which was followed by us in our first-acquired Burman provinces long remained in as crude and unsatisfactory a state as under the native Government.

“ Land-tax was not taken by the Burmese Government in all the districts, but when it was established, a fixed amount was put upon each plough or yoke of oxen, which amount was paid in silver; or in some districts a rough calculation was made of the grain produce of each circle and the cultivators

‘ were required to convey a proportion, generally ten per cent. ‘ of their crop to the Government granaries.’ ”

On the first annexation of Arracan and Tenasserim the clumsy yoke of oxen tax was continued by the British officers placed in charge of those districts ; but some years afterwards yearly land-measurements were introduced. In Arracan the standard land-measure adopted was the “ doon,” about  $6\frac{1}{4}$  English acres and in Tenasserim the English acre was naturalized. Certain rates per doon or acre were then imposed upon all the lands within each Toik or Circle, according to the reports of the Thoogyee’s as to what their respective lands could bear. But as these Thoogyees were men who knew not what an acre was and had very indefinite ideas regarding square measure, their reports were but unsatisfactory data to go upon. In Arracan it so happened that low rates varying from Rupees 6 to Rupees 10 per doon were imposed while in Tenasserim high rates of Rs. 2 or 3 an acre were adopted, in consequence of which the agricultural progress of the latter province was considerably retarded. On the annexation of Pegu the maximum rate, in the alluvial districts of Rangoon and Bassein the most fertile in the Province, was fixed at Rs. 2 per acre—while in the others districts rates varying from 8 annas to Rs. 1-8 were imposed. The rates having been fixed in each Circle, the Thoogyees with the aid of Land-measurers deputed by the Deputy Commissioners of the district are expected to measure all the cultivated land in their Circles once every year. The assessment is made with each cultivator separately and approaches most nearly therefore to the Ryotwari Tenures of India. The yearly Land-measurements are the great defect of the present system. The agricultural body being numerous and the average size of each man’s farm being not more than 8 or 10 acres, the annual measurement of these small plots is productive of trouble and annoyance to the cultivators, expense to Government and chicanery and rascality on the part of the Land-measurers. A system of Revenue Settlement has now however being introduced into the province of Pegu, the objects of which are two-fold first—to fix discriminative rates of assessment upon much smaller areas than those generally included within the limits of a Circle, which may contain from 25 to 250 square miles—and secondly to introduce, if possible a system of decennial village settlements. It is plain that in an extensive tract of country like a Toik or Circle, there must be many differences of soil and advantages and disadvantages of situation affecting the various lands which will make one unvarying rate of assessment over the whole area quite inapplicable. To obviate this incon-



venience, certain natural and well-marked divisions of country, containing only a few hundred acres each, known by the generic term of "Kwengs," with a distinctive name for each, have been selected as units of assessment. Each Kweng is reconnoitred, its quality ascertained and the rate of assessment fixed accordingly. The maximum rate is Rs. 2-8, and this is imposed only on Kwengs of extraordinary fertility—the minimum being 4 annas. The yield of paddy may be said to vary between 25 and 100 baskets—(English Bushels\*) per acre—but Kwengs which yield an average produce of more than 70 baskets an acre are rare. The price of paddy in the Rangoon market has varied during the last two years between Rs. 55 and Rs. 135. The average of the two years is Rs. 76 per 100 baskets. To a cultivator therefore who gets an average crop of 50 baskets per acre the Government rent of Rs. 2 is only about 5 per cent. on his gross receipts—or even were the current rate of paddy to fall to Rs. 30 per 100 baskets, the lowest it has been since annexation, the land rent would amount only to about 13 per cent. of the gross produce. As one-fifth of the gross produce is the legal Government share, the present rates of assessment are undoubtedly light, and the agricultural interest of the Province is at present in a state of plethoric prosperity. The principles of the Village Settlement system which has been introduced are as follows. All the cultivators in one village tract agree to pay to Government annually for ten years a sum equal to the land rent paid the year before the settlement is made. This annual jumma to be paid regularly whether cattle die or crops fail, but applications for remission on account of any very general disaster of this kind are duly considered. The rent to be raised among the cultivators by a committee chosen by themselves from among their own number. All waste lands within the village tract which may be brought under cultivation within the ten years to be tax-free. The advantages of these settlements have not yet been universally approved of by the cultivators. In the Delta the abundance of waste land lying ready to be cultivated is so great that its value is hardly appreciable. Hereditary property in land is a thing which, in the lower part of the Province, is almost unknown. Out of 3262 cultivators, the agricultural population of the Township of Thongwa, only 158 have been in possession of their land for more than one—only nine for more than two, and none can trace their ownership beyond the third generation. The people are in fact but squatters on the soil and a lengthened tenure of their lands offers

\* The standard basket of unhusked paddy weighs 52 lbs. avoirdupois.

but few attractions to them. Though the system has been successfully introduced it will be some years before it takes firm root in the province—with a population of only 28 souls to the square mile—and only a twenty-eighth of her cultivable area actually under cultivation—with her vast alluvial plains teeming with fertility—and her magnificent slopes waiting only to be cleared in order to bring forth fruit abundantly, it is evident that Pegu offers a splendid field for industrious settlers. A very tiny stream of immigration now trickles into the province across the Northern frontier from the Burmese and Shan states—not expelled by want or increasing numbers from those sparsely peopled regions, but consisting only of a few individuals who prefer British to Native Rule, and who succeed in transporting their household gods across the frontier. The whole addition made to the population in this way since annexation does not exceed a few thousands. As yet nothing has been done to attract settlers from the swarming hives of the human race on the opposite coast of India. Nor indeed would any influx of poverty-stricken coolies be of much advantage to the province unless it were the result of and accompanied by British capital and skill. Rules for the grants of waste lands have been promulgated. Under these rules rent-free tenures are allowed for various periods from four up to thirty-two years, according to the nature of the land and the kind of jungle with which it is covered. One-fourth of the whole grant to be rent-free in perpetuity and the remainder to be assessed at the expiration of the rent-free tenure at the same rate as other lands in the neighbourhood. These grants however are saddled with various conditions. One-fourth, one-half and three-fourths of the whole grant must be brought under cultivation before the expiration of one-quarter, one-half and three-fourths respectively of the rent-free tenure. Grantees also are required to enter into a bond not to *allow any of the present cultivators of the Province to settle in or cultivate within their grant*. Should any of the rules not be complied with, the whole grant is liable to resumption by Government. Under such restrictions it is not astonishing that the waste lands of Pegu have not been popular objects of investment with European capitalists. In that province not a single application for a grant has ever been made, and in Tenasserim an enterprising European who experimented in one was nearly ruined owing to the penalties prescribed by the rules being strictly enforced. The mistake in the spirit of the rules has been that an increase of revenue from the bestowal of grants has been the primary object in view, whilst it should only be secondary. An increase of po-

pulation and cultivated area is the sole desideratum in Pegu, and increase of revenue will assuredly follow when those objects have been attained. Among the chief improvements which might be effected in the present rules are first—the removal of the prohibition against employing cultivators of the Province upon a grant, and secondly, permission to convert a “grant” into a freehold estate, *i. e.*, the power of purchasing exemption from land-rent in perpetuity by payment of a lump sum down—which power has already been conceded in parts of India. The rule requiring certain portions of the grant to be brought under cultivation within a certain time, may be necessary to prevent mere speculation in land, but its hardness should be modified by a saving clause authorizing the local Revenue Authorities to withhold the application of the Rule in cases where the omission to cultivate has been caused, not by wilful neglect on the part of the grantee but by circumstances over which he had no control. But these or any other modifications in the Rules will fail to attract British or Indian Capitalists into the fields of Pegu, whilst population is so scanty and labor so scarce, unless some means are devised for protecting the interests of the importers of labor. A speculator who would import a thousand laborers into Rangoon has no adequate means, or at least it is generally thought that he has none, and the effect is the same, of preventing them all deserting in a body the day after their arrival. The extension to Pegu of any of the existing Regulations would not meet the requirements of the case but it would be quite possible to frame such an enactment as would encourage immigration into Pegu by protecting alike the interests of the coolies and their masters. The principal productions to which European skill and capital might be applied in Pegu are Indigo, Cotton and Cocoanuts. Indigo has never yet been attempted within the province on a large scale, though it is grown in small quantities by the cultivators for Home consumption, but a manufactory which the king of Burmah has just established at his capital has turned out some fair samples of the article which sold on their first introduction into the Calcutta market for Rs. 150 per maund. Cotton we know will grow luxuriantly in Pegu. The indigenous species is grown on low alluvial ground or on hill clearings in a careless and slovenly manner. Its staple is short and it is worthless in the English markets. It used to be exported in considerable quantities to China *viâ* Yunan, but since that trade has been stopped owing to the disturbances in the latter country—the cultivation has declined both in Burmah Proper and in Pegu. In one Province there are now only about 10,000 acres under



Cotton cultivation, and the annual value of the produce, taking the yield of an acre to be about 100 viss, (365 lbs.) and the current rate Rs. 10 per 100 viss, will only be about a lakh of rupees. Various foreign kinds of cotton have been introduced by the Government and have thriven well. The best return was obtained from upland Georgia seed sown near Rangoon. The cleaned produce of this was pronounced in Calcutta to be worth about Rs. 14 per maund or about 4 pence a lb. The probability however of inducing the ignorant native cultivators to adopt the foreign kinds which require care and attention in the place of their own inferior variety which grows almost spontaneously is very small.

Next to the Land-rent, the Capitation or Poll-Tax is the main-stay of the Public Revenue in Pegu. It yields about nine lakhs of rupees per annum or Re. 1 per head on the whole population. It is levied at the rate of Rs. 4 for each married family and Rs. 2 for each bachelor or widower. Politicians who doubt the practicability of imposing a Poll-Tax in India would do well to consider why it is that this is the Tax which is most easily raised and the least objected to in Pegu and the other Anglo-Burmese Provinces.

The judicial system in Pegu has from the first been framed after the model of the non-regulation provinces of India. The popularity of the petty Burmese Courts in the interior of districts and of the Courts held by our English officers at the head quarters of the Districts, is best attested by the large number of suits which are annually brought and decided. The proportion of these suits to the population of Pegu, exceeds that which exists in the Regulation provinces of India, and even in those non-regulation provinces where justice is most cheaply administered.

In the Courts of the English officers, the record is in English; the witness is brought face to face with the Judge; is interrogated from the Judge's own mouth and the evidence is written by the Judge's own hand. There has been a Pegu Code published after the model of the Punjab Code. The procedure follows that improved system recently devised by the Legislature for the Regulation Provinces. But to this is added as abstract of Principles of Burmese Law.

At Rangoon as at Moulmein the want of a trained English Lawyer to decide cases in which European and commercial interests are concerned, is more or less felt. Still since Major Sparks has been in charge of the judicial work at Rangoon the Court there is well spoken of by all classes. And considering the difficulty of the business, or of much of the business, it is to Major Sparks' credit that he has done it so well.

The frequency of the divorce cases, is a clear index of a fact unhappily too notorious of the utter laxity of the marriage tie among the population of Burmah. With the Burmese marriage appears to be nothing more than a temporary contract. Whether the Courts are right in recognising these divorces with as much facility as they do, is, we think, doubtful. But the matter is one of delicacy and difficulty ; and the prevalence of this great social evil, merits the constant and earnest attention of the Pegu administration.

One matter of great interest and importance connected with Pegu is the *supply of Teak Timber*. In this respect however we are not yet able to chronicle any substantial progress. The most that can be said is that the best possible enquiry has been made, and the real facts of the Teak Forests, ascertained ; that the foundation of a sound system of forest conservancy has been laid. But the result, under British Rule, has as yet, been inconsiderable. For the first few years after annexation there was some supply, but it was drawn from the resources of previous years, that is from trees felled during the period of Burmese Rule. That supply was not however, on its exhaustion, succeeded by a fresh supply of newly felled trees. Consequently for some time past great disappointment has been felt by those private capitalists who have erected machinery or established agencies in the hope of Teak Timber being available. Moreover the various Public Departments have felt the same want ; and this becomes serious in a province, where all public buildings Military and Civil are, as yet, built of wood. It is not hence to be inferred that the Teak of Burmah regarding which such vivid anticipations were formed some years ago, is a myth. Teak there is, on the slopes of the Yoma ranges, in the wild and rugged vallies of the Sitang and the Salwen. So sure as British administrations and British enterprise shall endure, that Teak will sooner or later find its way into the market. But the plain fact is that at this moment there is but little Teak Timber available at Rangoon. The question is, how shall the Timber that really does exist be rendered available ? This question has not been solved ; but we hope it soon will be ; as the Forest Department has been busy with its enquiries and operations and the attention of the English merchants has been drawn to this subject.

We trust that at some future day the able and interesting reports of Dr. D. Brandis, the Superintendent of Forests in Pegu and Tenasserim, may be reviewed. To high educational acquirements and scientific knowledge Dr. Brandis adds a noble zeal for the service, and great personal activity. With great labour

and in much hardship, he has marched through the most distant forests in the province; and has traversed mountainous and inhospitable regions. His proceedings have placed at the disposal of the authorities a mass of practical and valuable information which may indicate the way whereby on the one hand the supply of Timber may be made to meet the public requirements, and on the other hand, those resources which nature has lavished on the Province, and which Providence has entrusted to our keeping, may be duly preserved from premature exhaustion and husbanded for the future.

Under the firm and able and at the same time popular and considerate administration of Colonel Phayre, who, it is to be hoped, will yet remain for many years longer to rule over his interesting Province and to complete the work which he has so well begun, much has been done towards rendering Pegu among the most promising, as it is already one of the happiest and most prosperous Province of our Indian Empire. The chief benefits derived from British rule in Pegu are thus described by Colonel Phayre:—

“The most prominent of the material benefits derived by the people are, the abolition of forced labor, and the wonderful impulse given to industry from the free export of grain. The first measure has removed a load which bowed the people to the dust; the second has imparted a value to landed property, which, unless in exceptional cases, it had not before. Although the amount of taxation is now perhaps, greater than under the Burmese Government, and the collection of it more troublesome to the people, yet it is paid in with much greater ease, and the people know what they are required to pay. They have acquired firm confidence that a fair rate will be taken and no more. One great source of annoyance and loss to the people has been removed by the introduction of a coin of fixed value. Every payment formerly had to be made by weight of silver bullion, and the silver tendered had to be assayed whenever passed from hand to hand. The loss on this continual melting up was very great, and the frauds practised on the poor and ignorant may well be imagined. By the introduction of coin, dealings of every kind have become more certain and therefore more frequent. By this facility afforded to dealings and by the abolition of transit duties, internal trade has greatly increased, and the diffusion of wealth and comfort among the people is a subject of general remark. But the most important benefit conferred by the introduction of British rule, is the repression of crime, hitherto fostered and encouraged by Government Officers.”

But not the least of the blessings conferred by British rule is the ameliorated condition of the savage tribes known as “Kareng Yaings” who inhabit the vast hilly district to the East of Toungoo. They formerly lived in a state of perpetual warfare with each other and with the Burmese. One tribe lost no opportunity of attacking another and carrying off prisoners to be sold into slavery. Their hands were indeed against every man and every man's hand against them. Thanks to the philanthropic exertions of Mr. O'Riley, the Deputy Commissioner of



the district, and the Rev. Dr. Mason, a Baptist Missionary, these benighted savages have not only been civilized but Christianized. Although many of them live within our boundaries, our Government from the first disclaimed all intention of imposing any taxes upon them, but a native agent was appointed to reside amongst them and endeavour to put a stop to their internal wars and feuds, no opportunity was lost in inspiring them with confidence in the benevolent intentions of the British Government. The result of the three years of intercourse with them may be best described by Mr. O'Riley. After describing the state of degradation into which these tribes had fallen through the tyrannous oppression of the Burmese, he says:—

“It might be too sweeping an assertion were I to state that the state of social relations, as above noted, has passed away generally, but I may safely aver that, of the large communities of these wild races who people the mountain ranges of the Pong-Coung, aggregating a total of from 55,000 to 56,000 souls, fully one-third have during the last three years, received the light of civilization through the combined agency of Government and the Kareng Missionary Quala, with his assistants, have cast aside their former evil practices, and cemented a bond of amity and brotherhood with their kindred tribes, have raised themselves in the social scale by the adoption of the pure faith of Christianity, and will eventually be found willing recipients of our laws to render them useful subjects of our Government.”

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- ART. VIII.—1. *Ras Mala, or Hindoo Annals of the Province of Goozerat, in Western India.* By ALEXANDER KINLOCH FORBES of the Honorable East India Company's Civil Service. With illustrations principally architectural from drawings by the Author. London. Richardson Brothers, 23, Cornhill. 1856.
2. *Travels in Western India, embracing a Visit to the sacred mounts of the Jains, and the most celebrated shrines of Hindoo faith between Rajpootana and the Indus, with an account of the ancient city of Aghrwala,* by the late LIEUTENANT COLONEL JAMES TOD, Author of "Annals of Rajasthan." London. Wm. A. Allen and Co. Leadenhall Street. 1839.
3. *Selections from Bombay Government Records, No. 37, 1856.*

"GOING to Kattyawar, are you?" says Bombay Society, "that is where you get lion-shooting, is it not?" "Been in Kattyawar, have you?" says Calcutta Society, "is that where Kattyawar horses come from?" Pertinent questions both of them; but it is clear our Indian friends like "angels, fear to tread" this Terra Incognita. People at home "step in" more promptly; here for instance is a writer in the *Daily Telegraph* who has done so—head foremost:—"In this mysterious region," he writes, "primal woods spread over the level country; the hills 'are pierced by vast, irregular, dangerous caverns; robber-fastnesses, situated in spots difficult of access, are numerous; the 'climate, especially towards the close of the year, is deadly, and 'the only people who can bear it with impunity are the Seedeeds, 'emigrants from the coast of Africa. Every species of wild beast 'haunts this frightful wilderness, and there roam the Waghers, 'who long have been the terror of the entire sea board." To readers of the *Calcutta Review* we need not perhaps explain that this is about as true a picture of Kattyawar as if a literary Baboo were in the columns of the *Hindoo Patriot* to give a description of the British Isles, by combining in one harmonious whole the various features of the Forest of Dean, the Bog of Allan and the Grampians, and saying—there roam the Roughs, who long have been the terror of every Bazaar and Mela in the kingdom. Turning from the "browner horror" which these touches after Salvatore Rosa have shed upon the land, we find the reality as follows:—

"The Country of Soreth"—as Kattyawar was called of old—"has always been one full of attraction for the Hindoo; it is to him an earthly paradise, a land of chur rivers, of well-bred horses, of lovely women,—it is more, it is a holy land, to the Jain the land of Adeenath and Urishtemee, to the orthodox Hindoo the country of Maha Dev and Shree Krishn. The

follower of the Teerbhunkers turns his pilgrim thoughts towards the holy mountains of Girnar and Shutroonjye ; the servant of Vishnoo thinks of Soreth as each morning he places on his forehead the teeluk of Gopee Chundun ; the worshipper of Shiva sounds with a conch shell of Soreth the praises of the victorious Shunkur ; while the Rajpoot and the bard extol the gallantry of Ra Khengar, or lament the fate of Ranik Deveen, or perchance, at evening, meeting beneath the village tree, when the hooka bubbles, and the wandering stranger tells his tale of other lands, repeat the verse,—

In Soreth are jewels five,  
Horses, rivers, women ;  
Somnath the fourth ;  
Fifth, Huree's presence.

Nor is the Mahommedan less eager in his praise. "Fortune," says the Meerat Sekunderee, 'seems to have selected this territory from the most fertile spots of Malwa, Candeish and Goozerat ; to present to the view at once all that was valuable in those countries ; but to all the advantages which it derives from its soil in common with those provinces, it possesses in its ports another, which they cannot boast of, from which its merchants obtain wealth, and the inland countries many of those luxuries so much in demand.'

Our own feeling on the subject is, that of the whole dominion where Sir George Clerk now holds sway there is no portion, whether to the archæologist, the lover of the picturesque, the sportsman, or the student of our relations with native states, so deserving of notice and yet at the same time so altogether unknown as Kattyawar. Further we have a notion that just now Kattyawar is at an important turning point in its career for future weal or woe. Thus a double motive arises urging us to attempt drawing a little general interest towards the country and its institutions ; and our only regret is that our design has not been anticipated in these pages by him who alone could worthily discant upon the theme, who in his knowledge of Goozerat in its inner life both ancient and modern owns no rival near his throne, the Author of the "Ras Mala."

There are three maps of India now lying before us, and considering that the locality we would discuss is in one of them stamped with the letters G U Z that go to make up the name, GUZERAT, in another lumped with a mass of foreign territory supposed to belong exclusively to the Gaekwar, and in the third disguised under the spelling peculiar to Missionaries and the Madras Government as Kathiawad, it seems a not uncalled for preliminary that we should give geographical limits to our topic. Kattyawar then—for we despair of accustoming our readers to the more legitimate titles, Saurashtra or Soreth, the Good Land—is the peninsula of Goozerat ; bounded on the South by the Indian Ocean, on the East by the Gulf of Cambay, and on the West by the Gulf of Cutch : Northwards towards the military



station of Deesa, and the large territory known collectively as Rajpootana it is in great measure cut off from the mainland by a couple of those peculiar compounds of salt marsh and desert locally known as Runns; these stretch in on either hand from the apex of each of the Gulfs, leaving a space of barely seventy miles open to invasion. And isolated as is even its present position, Kattyawar in the olden time was no doubt wholly an island. It is about 150 miles long by about the same distance broad, and contains an area of 22,000 square miles. The chief physical features of the province are the Burda Hills in the west with their southern continuations, the Alich range, and the Oshum; the lofty and holy mount of Girnar overshadowing the ancient fortress of Joonagurh; and lastly a remarkable tract in the South, stretching 50 miles East and West by 30 North and South, known as the Geer: it consists of a succession of ridges and hills which towards the South reach to a considerable elevation, covered with the densest forest trees and jungle, and full of almost inaccessible fastnesses which for ages have afforded shelter to robbers, outlaws and a sect of wild fanatics (Aghorees) reputed to be cannibals.

Would a man essay "the tale of Troy Divine," says the Horatian maxim, he need not hark back to Leda's eggs for a starting point. Acting on this advice, we will waive those prelegendary mists of time when the Black Race, whose supposed descendants are to be found in the still half savage Bheels and Koles, roamed their forests without one prophetic fear of the coming foe from Arya; nor shall there be any pause over the pastoral myth of Krishna, either as he Apollo-like tends his sheep and romps with rustic Daphnes, or as he subsequently emerges into the Hero, King and God of Goozerat, longer than may suffice to mark the confirmation hence accruing to the natural supposition that the Brahmanic races should have found a home and settled in Goozerat, many a long year before any outer ripple of their wave of emigration had spread onwards into the valley of the Ganges. Similarly the wonders of the Girnar inscriptions must be noticed only for the proof they give that in the third century before our era Goozerat was portion of an empire seated in Central India and stretching as far East as Cuttack. Onwards to surer ground and a light comparatively clear!

It is fortunate that almost the whole authentic history of Kattyawar is bound up with two or three sites, which to this day have a name wherein the past still echoes, and exhibit distinct material remains for the pilgrim who gazes on them to re-people with the shades of those mighty men of yore who there fought, loved, sorrowed and rejoiced even as men do now. It is not

until we walk under the tree from out of the shade of whose branches went forth the commands that won a battle, or touch the blackened walls which erst rang with brilliant banquetings, that the imagination fairly grasps the real life with which those scenes were once inspired. Let us suppose then that we have that famous carpet of the Thousand and One Nights at our command, and wish ourselves—

First, to a spot just outside the walls of the Gobel Thackoor's town of Wulleh, some twenty miles North Westwards of the flourishing little port of Gogo. Before us is a thicket of most ancient Peeloo trees, round which eddies a stream known to our guide as the Ghela or Mad River, and at our feet long tufted grass only half concealing masses of old brick-work or occasional fragments of granite over which it is not easy to avoid stumbling. A desolate scene in truth, and as the howl of the jackal is borne fitfully down on the souhings of the evening breeze, there is a something of sympathy we can readily accord to the local legend that tells of wailing Bhoots, who lurk here proof for ages against exorcism. Yet this is all that now remains of Wullubheepoor, a Metropolis\* that during the seventh century of our era boasted the most brilliant Court in India. To see and admire it came from China the Boodhist priest, Howen Thsang, and from Arabia the no less famous geographer El Edrisi. Cyclopean walls, and a deep moat embraced within their circuit of thirty miles a city where rose the fair proportions of a hundred ornate palaces, glimmered cool depths of waters translucent from out the arched depths of many a spacious reservoir, clashed and clanged the call to prayer from the spires of 360 temples, and streamed in endless variety of color through eighty-four different Bazaars the myriad multitude that called these things their own. This splendid seat of Empire—be the credit of its subversion due to Scythians, as Colonel Tod would have it, to Indo-Bactrians according to another authority, or to Persians under Nousheerwan the Great, as Mountstuart Elphinstone opines—fell before an irruption of barbarians from the North at a date which conjecturally may be given as A. D. 770. How sudden and complete was the overthrow may be judged from the fact that the remnant of inhabitants which escaped death or captivity fled away to found new cities in Malwa without making one effort to rebuild their ancient homes; and that a still current legend ascribes the event to the operation of a miracle resembling that which whelmed Sodom and the cities of the Plain. From Wallubhee

\* *Bombay Quarterly Review*, No. iv. Art. iii.

the sceptre of Goozerat departed to Unhilwarra Puttun, a city near the modern cantonments of Deesa, which, founded by Wun Raj, the Forest King, in 746, passed from the Chowra dynasty to the Solunkhees in 925, and from the Solunkhees to the Waghelas in 1172; the Waghelas in their turn being crushed and Unhilwarra as a seat of Hindoo power destroyed by Alla-ood-deen the Bloody, Emperor of Delhi, in 1294.

Fancy's flight the second is to a little bay on the South-West coast of Kattyawar, which Colonel Tod fondly declares to be the most beautiful in India. Inland loom the misty peaks of the Girnar, and seawards the deep blue Heaven and Ocean mingling without a discernible horizon are flecked with the white crests of rolling billows or barred with the long dun line of smoke that proclaims the stately sweep of a British war steamer passing upwards to Kurrachee.

The solemn litany which the powers of the deep are chaunting evermore, booms along golden lands sweeping in graceful curvature to yon North Western headland, where shine the white walls of Verawul raised of old to be a defence against pirates; and now topped by the dark slanting masts of a score of country shipping lying moored in the port beyond. Here are buglahs from the Persian Gulf, dows from Arabia, and pattamars that shall yet rejoice the heart of the Bombay merchant with screwed cotton bales, or help the Commissary General to defy combining dealers by a timely supply of hay. Verawul left behind, let us turn our faces towards the other horn of the bay: on our left we pass the Bal Khoond, where Krishna, as he lay sleeping under a bush, met the fate classic legends assign to Thisbe, and so onwards by a tall tottering Eedgah, which, with the innumerable graves around it, many of them wall-enclosed, dome-covered and tended by unmistakable Fukeers, tells of a Mahommedan element in the neighbourhood for Western India unusually influential, we pick our steps through deep drifting sand to the towered double gates that rise sombre and venerable before us. 'Tis the city of Dev Puttun, and at our entrance we are met by a grave handsome Arab, who holds the surrounding district in hereditary lieutenancy from the Nawab of Joonagurh: he wheels his horse by our side and courteously points out each object of interest on either side of the narrow streets. The whole plan of the city is of the early Hindoo period; so are the mutilated images and architectural ornaments which ever and anon protrude from the masonry of mosque or private house into which they have been wrought in most cases inappropriately enough. Outside the Western walls of the city and as yet invisible we know that



there is the River Hurun, which, winding down from the wild Geer, is broadened near its mouth by the confluence of two smaller streams, and thus affords to the Hindoo pilgrim a Treevenee, or holy meeting of three waters, where foliage-shadowed steps lead down from Krishna's shrines to lustral baths of peculiar efficacy. Still pressing onwards through the cool shadow of the streets we emerge at length on a comparatively open space towards the sea, littered with rubbish and dust-heaps. Huge blocks of stone lie around, and fragments of once polished slabs mingle promiscuously with the flowered capitals of fallen pillars, the maimed trunks of what have of old been carved Caryatides, or the shattered half of that well known emblem of Shiva, the mysteriously obscene Ling. In the midst black with the age of centuries rises a structure of great solidity though (as compared with other celebrated haunts of religion) of inconsiderable dimensions. The bell shaped spire is wanting, and the central dome, massive as it appears, is obviously the work of more recent and less careful architecture than that which fashioned the jasper lintel of the entrance door, encrusted the outer walls with innumerable niched figures of shapely design, and made the coarse sand-stone droop in fringes delicate as lace work. There is a cow calving in the holiest penetralia, and on the inmost wall, the exterior base of which is within a few feet of the sea, a solitary splash of red paint attests at once the cow-herd's rude piety, and the completeness of the degradation to which Maha Kal's great oracle has fallen. For this before us is the far-famed Temple of Somnath.

"It was about the time when Canute the Great was employing himself in decorating the old minster at Winchester 'with such magnificence as confounded the minds of strangers at the sight of the gold and silver and the splendour of the jewels,' that another sovereign, as successful a soldier, and as enthusiastic a lover of architectural display, undertook in the far East, an enterprise in which he sought to perpetuate his name by the destruction of an idolatrous shrine, perhaps more splendid than that Christian temple, which the politic Western sovereign was engaged in founding." \* \* \* \* "Mahmood left Ghuznee on his expedition against Somnath in September A. D. 1024 : his numerous army was accompanied by crowds of volunteers, the flower of the youth of Toorkistan."

Ajmeer and Anhilwarra fell before him ; but "it was against 'the Gods, and not the Kings of the Hindoos that Mahmood 'made war ;" and he hastened on without a pause to Somnath. And whatever may be the present state of the temple, "to 'behold it as it met the eye of the army of Islam, we must 'recal its lofty spire rising far above the blue horizon of its 'ocean back-ground, the tawny banner of Shiva fluttering from 'its summit, the porticoes and pyramid-like dome, the courts

‘and columned aisles that surrounded them, and the numerous ‘subordinate shrines, which, as satellites, heightened the splendor ‘of this chosen dwelling of the Lord of the Moon.” Rapid as had been Mahmood’s approach, he found an army ready to oppose him. His herald proclaimed defiance, the green ensign of the Prophet was unfurled, and the assault delivered. For two days his best efforts were vain, and the most devoted of his stormers, fast as they scaled the walls, were beaten headlong back by the valour of Rajpoots fighting for hearth and altar. On the third day when victory seemed still more decidedly turning in favor of the besieged and their relieving army, Mahmood himself, like Cæsar at the head of his Tenth Legion, led a furious charge that saved and won the day. Five thousand Hindoos lay dead at his feet and the city of Dev Puttun was his own. When the victorious Sultan

“entered the shrine of Someshwar, he beheld a superb edifice of hewn stone, its lofty roof supported by pillars curiously carved and set with precious stones. In the adytum, to which no external light penetrated, and which was illuminated only by a lamp suspended from the centre by a golden chain, appeared the Symbol of Someshwar—a stone cylinder, which rose nine feet in height above the floor of the temple and penetrated six feet in depth below it. Two fragments of this object of idolatrous worship were at the King’s order broken off, that one might be thrown at the threshold of the public Mosque, and the other at the Court-gate of his own palace at Ghuznee. Other fragments were reserved to grace the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. While Mahmood was thus employed, a crowd of Brahmins, petitioning his attendants, offered an enormous ransom if the King would desist from further mutilation. Mahmood hesitated, and his courtiers hastened to offer the advice which they knew would be acceptable; but after a moment’s pause the Sultan exclaimed that he would be known by posterity not as “the idol-seller,” but as *the destroyer*. The work of spoliation then continued and was rewarded by the discovery, in the vaults below the adytum, of untold treasures.”

And thus fell Somnath! Lord Ellenborough’s wonderful bêtise in connection with the temple’s putative gates brought back in triumph from Affghanistan is fresh within the public recollection. These trophies came on their way as far as Agra; and there we believe they still repose awaiting a chance of further adventures not likely soon to be granted them.

From the fall of Somnath to the destruction of Unhilwarra by a still fiercer storm of Islamism nearly three centuries afterwards, the story of Goozerat presents nought but a melancholy sameness of intestine strife; Rajpoot contending fratricidally with Rajpoot, and nowhere anything like union against the common foe. The Mahommedans had consequently little difficulty in conquering the country after a fashion. Conquer it thoroughly they never did; and Kattyawar, which, according to their own authors, fermented with a chronic insurrection,

at no time became to the Sultans of Ahmedabad that compact portion of a subject empire, which it had been to the dynasties of Wallubhee and Unhilwarra. It profits little to look into the successive struggles made now by the paramount power to confirm its ascendancy, now by turbulent tributaries to re-assert their independence; efforts in which neither side gained any material advantage, and which leave the general plot of the drama advanced scarcely a step towards final development. The Moslem in his turn bowed and fell before the Mahratta; but antecedent to the appearance of the latter comes an episode which—no less for the interest attaching to the first exhibition of the Christian cross in Kattyawar, than for the heroism of a people to whom, perhaps because of old they pressed us closely as rivals, and now seem to have fallen almost beneath our notice, we, the present lords of India seem ever inclined to mete scant justice,—deserves equally prominent mention with the tales of Wallubhee and Somnath.

Two marches South-eastward from the last named place, we come to camping ground on a narrow neck of land, across which, from the sea on one hand to the mud of a salt creek on the other, stretches a row of iron cannon, evidently marking a once disputed boundary. This line as it passes over a sandy attempt at a road in the middle of its course is additionally marked by two glaring white pillars, bearing inscriptions, which, as far as we can gather from their Latin-like Portuguese, inform us that we are passing from the limits of the Joonagurh territory to those, as defined by an Anglo-Portuguese Commission in 1859, of the colony of Diu. Presently a small stone erection on the beach to our left attracts notice, and it is with that strange thrill of alien pity and unreasonable interest which it is impossible to suppress at the sight of a fellow-countryman's solitary grave in a far foreign land, that we decipher the quaint old *Hic jacet* of an English Sea-Captain, who died and was buried here just one century ago. Fitting the bare name of the good ship "Hope's" Commander—he must have voyaged in the days of Clive—with a history of our own imagining, we stroll dreamily forwards till on a sudden all musings are broken by the sound of an eldritch-scream just in front. It is the cry of a sentry on guard at the gate of Gogla, and, as we approach, outtumble his comrades, a batch of neatly dressed little fellows in dark greenish blue, who carry arms to our English excellencies in mute surprise at the unaccustomed advent of a white face. The Havildar sends off a message in haste to warn the Governor of coming visitors, and himself escorts us through the streets of the village till we come out upon the brink of



the little creek, on the opposite shore of which we hail the yellow houses and dark rock built fort of Diu : the latter juts out into the sea from the eastern extremity of the island, and from its topmost citadel floats the tower-charged blue-and-white of Lusitania. Five minutes suffice to transport us past the little Panee Kotha, or Water Fort, rising from a rock in mid-channel to command the entrance of the port ; and as our boat touches the shore, again comes the wonderful shriek of a sentry to our ears, and we pass under the gates of Diu with the same military honors which we had hoped to have endured once for all at Gogla. Here the Town Major joins us, and carries us off to pay our respects to the Governor. The latter is a dark, stout, little man of polite manners and energetic character, whose medals show that, as a Major of Dragoons, he has seen active service in Europe ; he receives us at the top of his outer stairs, and leads us to a long apartment rather bare of furniture with a dais and gubernatorial chair at one end over which hangs a colored print of the young King of Portugal. His excellency seats us beside him on a red sofa of Spartan hardness, and, unless we have taken the precaution to bring an interpreter with us, jerky civilities are exchanged through the medium of a not slipperless Bunneea equally versed in our own Goozerathee and our host's Portuguese. The view facing us through the open windows is charming ; it looks Northward across the sail-specked harbour to our tents on the white sand-hills opposite basking in " the noon-day luminously calm ;" near them at intervals may be marked those curious double-headed palm-trees peculiar to the Southern coast of Kattyawar, and, further beyond, the swelling outlines of the Nundevelee and other hills of the Geer hanging like a cloud in the horizon. We sip the Governor's ' mito,' and take our leave with a view to visiting the sights of the place. Pigs, churches, stone-quarries, Negroes, Sombrero straw hats, and brilliant-patterned pantaloons bulk largely among first impression of Diu. The pigs run untended about the streets, and, as we know by our previous experience at Damaun, share with the omnipresent pariah the duties and privileges of the public scavenger. Churches, churches everywhere—the majority in various stages of dilapidation, one turned into a hospital, and two or three still occupied for devotional purposes ; of these last the largest is dedicated to St. Paul, a name which the natives of the island, many of them professing a convenient polytheistic form of Christianity, have converted into Shree Pâl. It is a large stone-building with a facade, which, but for its coat of yellow wash, would have been handsome, and an interior where the majestic effect of vaulted height is marred by most tawdry ornamentation.

Attached, and in fact forming part of the same pile is a convent, where welcome relief from the outer glare and heat may be found in the shadow of arched cloisters, pierced by windows, whose semi-transparent shells, supplying the place of glass, shed a dim religious light which harmonises delightfully with the murmur of a fountain lapsing among the cool dark foliage of the little arboretum in the centre. Here paces a spare elderly man in slippers and a gaudy cotton dressing gown, to whom we are introduced as the Burra Padre of the place, and he offers us a cigarito with a *bonhomme* quite captivating. On again venturing outside we are more than ever struck with the appearance of the stone-quarries: all Diu is honeycombed with them, and by the side of every edifice of any size one sees the hole in the rock out of which its materials have been hewn. Some of these quarries are of considerable depth and extent, families have settled at the bottom, and thus little settlements of Troglodytes have been created, nestling under tall old trees, the tops of which scarcely soar to the mouth of the pit. The numerous occurrence of African faces suggests the enquiry where they come from, and the response teaches us that what little commerce the decaying colony can still boast is chiefly with the Portuguese possessions in the Mozambique. Until the present system of passes for Malwa opium was introduced, a smuggling traffic in the precious drug diverted a good deal of money to Diu: but that source dried up, the place no longer paid its expenses, and although the present Governor has struck out a new channel for receipts by the establishment of a regular fishery, it is doubtful if even this ingenious device can avail in a financial point of view, to justify the retention by the Portuguese of this their ancient footing in the country. The fort is at present garrisoned by about 200 men and the guns it mounts are very old pieces of ordinance; but the position has certainly strong natural advantages for fortification. Near the harbour wall, and between the fort and the town stands a tall pillar commemorative of a Sultan slain in battle. And it is for the sake of the old days when this event occurred,—days of “A Nunba’s Justice and a Castro’s Sword” that we have given to Diu so prominent a place in our sketch of Kattyawar.

It was in 1837 that Nunboda Cunha, who had five years previously made an unsuccessful attempt on Diu, gained his object by the promise of aid to Sultan Bahadoor of Goozerat, then engaged in war with the Delhi Emperor, Humayoon. Bahadoor, when the war ended, wished to retract his gift, and became involved in desultory hostilities with his former allies. It was

then agreed that these differences should be settled by a personal interview with the Captain of the Feringhees. The parties had scarcely met each other on Diu beach, before mutual suspicions of treachery led to a scuffle at the boats in which the Indian Monarch and the European Commander were both slain. When we hear that in this encounter, the Portugese bullets having run short,\* one soldier tore a tooth out of his mouth and fired that instead, and that another ran with a barrel of powder and a lighted torch into the midst of the Moslem bands, and then flew himself and forty of the foe to pieces, we feel that the pillar before which we stand is scarcely needed to give assurance that Victory remained with the handful of Vikings from the West. The events which follow have been too frequently narrated, we fear, to justify their repetition in this place; yet the temptation is indeed strong to let our enthusiasm be re-kindled over the tale of the two sieges of Diu. Either of them stands high in the red roll of Indian triumphs, but for the defenders on the first occasion it seems really not extravagant to arrogate a place of honor side by side with the "Illustrations of Garrisons" of Lucknow and Jellalabad. In days which show us Goozerat portioned out into compact little fiefs of the same Empire, under the shadow of whose protection Turkey, Egypt and Portugal, each and all, retain their independent existence, how strange it is to read that in those days the Grand Seigneur, as Defender of the Faith of Islam, despatched from Suez 70 galleys, carrying 7000 Turkish soldiers, and a perfectly equipped train of artillery, under the command of the Governor of Cairo, to co-operate with 20,000 troops of Goozerat in exterminating the 600 Kafirs who held Diu for the house of Avis.

" What succeeds ? The sound  
 As of the assault of an imperial City,  
 The hiss of inextinguishable fire,  
 The roar of Giant Cannon ;—the earth-quaking  
 Fall of vast bastion and precipitated tower,  
 The shock of crags shot from strange enginery,  
 The clash of wheels, and clang of armed hoofs,  
 And crash of brazen mail, as of the wreck  
 Of adamantine mountains—the mad blast  
 Of trumpets, and the neigh of raging studs,  
 And shrieks of women, whose thrill jars the blood,  
 And one sweet laugh, most horrible to hear,  
 As of a joyous infant, waked and playing  
 With its dead mother's breast ; and now more loud  
 The mingled battle-cry—ha, hear we not  
 " *En touto vike*"—Allah, illah, Allah !" †

\* Taylor and Mackenna's *Ancient and Modern India*.

† Shelley's *Hellas*.



It was something very different though from helpless shrieking that was done by two at least among the gentler sex; and this pair of instances must suffice to illustrate the dauntless conduct of the besieged Christians.\* Donna Isabella de Vega assembled the women, told them that their husbands and brothers were all wanted for active operations against the enemy, and then herself led them out to work with mattock and spade at the ever crumbling parapets. Ann Fernandez passed from post to post, even while the assault ran hottest, cheering and encouraging the soldiers, and, when her son was slain, carried his body out of the press of battle and then returned to the *mêlée* where she remained till the repulse of the stormers allowed her to depart and weep over his burial. Hurra for the high memories of Ann and Isabella! each of them a right worthy ancestress in the race that gave Beresford his Cacadores at Albuera! Of course the last grand effort of the besiegers failed; what else could be the result against a defence of such desperate gallantry? The Crescent never gleamed more balefully, but it had to pale its ineffectual fires before the Cross. It was the 5th morning in November 1538 when the garrison, or rather

“All that was left of them,  
Left of six hundred,—

that is, just forty men, haggard and war-worn but still unconquered,—stood on the seaward ramparts of their battered fort, and watched with the eager gaze of a joy that still could be scarcely realised, the white sails lessening and lessening in the clear early air that bore away from them for ever Solymán the Cairene, baffled and discomfited.

Seven years slipped away and then Diu, this time defended only by 210 men, sustained a second siege in the course of which to the usual horrors of war were added the miseries of Famine.

But at last there came rescue from Goa with Juan de Castro, good at need; and he not only relieved Diu, but attacked, the enemy in their fortified trenches, and routed them with great slaughter. He then carried the tide of battle inland, and so humbled the Kings of Goozerat and the De Khan that they were fain to accept peace on any terms. De Castro's fame has been immortalized in the verse of Camoens. He too it was, who when in want of a loan to complete the fortifications of Diu, cut of his beard and enclosed it in a letter to Goa; the only security which his knightly patriotism had to offer, and one accepted by his countrymen with enthusiasm.

But we must hasten away from the brave little island of Diu,

\* Hugh Murray's *History of British India*.

which from that time to this has remained the unmolested property of the Portuguese. The Mahomedans, whose yoke, as we have already noticed, had ever sat lightly on the half-conquered Rajpoots of Kattyawar were compelled in their turn to submit to the Mahrattas, and in the wake of the Mahrattas came the mightier sovereignty of England. In April 1755 the Peshwa and Gaikwar took possession of Ahmedabad, and proceeded to divide the revenues of Goozerat between them. Forty-five years afterwards the Peshwa granted his share in farm to the Baroda Government, and in this way the collective claim for tribute of both the Mahratta Princes against Kattyawar fell to the Gaikwar to collect. The business was performed in a mode eminently characteristic of the people, with whom, according to Grant Duff, "to collect revenue and to make war 'were synonymous.'" Bodies of three or four thousand predatory horse, unencumbered with camp equipage or artillery, would be let loose upon the country, usually about harvest time, and as they "approached the territory of the Chief from 'whom the tribute was demanded, it was his duty, if he meditated no opposition, to despatch an accredited agent to the 'boundary line, furnished with the means of affording security 'for his compliance with all reasonable demands.'" But it was a point of honor with the Rajpoots to resist as long as possible the levy of any tribute whatever; and the Mahrattas, for their part, ill-brooked any delay in yielding to their requisitions. What usually ensued therefore was that "the Pindharees were 'thrown out on all sides and the march of the army was 'thenceforth marked by every species of plunder and desolation; the ripe crops were swept from the fields, the villages 'were wantonly fired and destroyed, nothing was allowed to 'remain but the bare walls of the houses, and it frequently 'happened that every acre of his lands was left bare, and every 'hamlet in his territory reduced to a heap of smouldering ruins 'before the Rajpoot Chieftain condescended to the payment of 'the tribute demanded."

Such was what the Mahrattas called their Moolukgine, or circuit of the country. Apparently not quite aware of what it was to which we were pledging ourselves, we had become bound, by treaty to give military assistance to our Baroda ally in these expeditions. But in the person of Colonel Alexander Walker the British Government of the day had a representative at the Gaikwar's Court, on whose tact and judgment they could thoroughly rely. By his intervention an arrangement was concluded which, while it not only more than redeemed our promises, at the same time satisfied the scruples of Christian

conscience and European Civilization, and legitimately expanded the sphere of our growing influence. The Gaikwar welcomed the idea of realising his dues without the trouble, uncertainty and expense of an armament specially despatched year after year; and the various states of Kattyawar, as soon as they had got rid of the notion that we intended a Moolukgine expedition on our own account, were not behind hand in expressing their satisfaction with any system that would rid them of the recurring Mahratta scourge. Given these feelings on either side, the problem was soon solved. The Gaikwar consented to forego his Moolukgine, and the Peninsular Chiefs, in lieu of all demands whatever that the Mahratta Suzerain might have against them, were severally rated at a certain fixed sum to be paid annually not to the Gaikwar, but to a British Agent who in his turn was to account for the sums so received to the Gaikwar. This triple bargain was ratified in the year Sumvut 1864 (A. D. 1808) and to this day, under the familiar title of the settlement of sixty-four, remains the most important landmark in the modern history of the Province. It is the foundation-stone on which the structure of British Administration has since been raised.

Our first appearance then in Kattyawar was in the character of arbitrators between a native ally and his unruly tributaries. But when we vanquished and deposed the Peshwa of Poona in 1817, we succeeded to his share in the tribute and thus became entitled to assume on our own account a commanding position towards the swarm of bold vassals, whom both Mogul and Mahratta had found it impossible to keep in permanent subjection. And now practically Her Britannic Majesty is sole Suzerain of Kattyawar, and though it may be as well perhaps, considering that the Peninsula is still accounted foreign territory, that the lands held in vassalage should be distinguished on the map by a different color from that marking the limits of the neighbouring Zilla Ahmedabad, yet as far as the nominally co-ordinate rights of the Baroda Government are concerned, "all red" would more truly denote where the real lordship lies. At present the gross revenues of the country may be estimated at rather less than half a million sterling: out of which about £100,000 is paid as annual tribute to the British Government and the Gaikwar, in the proportion say of two-thirds to the former and one-third to the latter. The population is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million.

Put simply, the duty of a Political Agent in Kattyawar is two fold, to collect the tribute, and to keep the peace. For ensuring the first of these objects he is entitled so far to interfere



in the internal management of every Talooka as to see that its owner does not endanger the realisation of the Government demand against him. To secure the second he, under certain limitations, administers Civil and Criminal Justice. A position, it will be seen, not adequately expressed by the title, Political Agent; for the word Political has in India come to signify Diplomatic; and tributaries neither are, nor have the right to be treated with that formal delicacy of suggestion characteristic of an embassy accredited from one august ally to another. The name Kattyawar too is a perpetual stumbling block, inasmuch as Kattyawar is not only not the proper name of the peninsula, but it is the name of something else, namely of one of the ten divisions into which the Peninsula is divided. The word, Soreth is open to a similar objection. Some such designation therefore as Warden of Southern Rajasthan would better denote both the country and the nature of the duties carried on by the British officer posted there.

Nevertheless payment of a tribute does not deprive the tributary of his independence. Even under our sway each Talookdar is supposed to possess exclusive jurisdiction within his own Talooka. Several of the smaller fry have little practical ability to enforce the execution of justice, and under these circumstances the right of taking cognizance of injuries lapses naturally to the paramount Power. But the majority are quite capable of dealing with most of the contingencies calling for interposition; and three or four of the more important actually retain the power of life and death within their own hands. As a general rule a subject can look for justice only to his own Talookdar; his grievance, if lying against a fellow subject, must be redressed by the common lord of both; if against the subject of another jurisdiction, it must be first taken up by his own Chief and only through him can it be prosecuted, the plaint in that case holding good not as against the particular defendant, but against the state to which such defendant may belong. Downright oppression, or denial of justice by a Talookdar is prevented by the operation of a grand old rule of Rajpoot hospitality, which the Agency never allows to fall into abeyance;—the Ryot can migrate into the lands of another Talookdar, who is then bound not only to give him shelter, but to espouse his quarrel against the oppressor and see it fought out in the British Courts. This provision, seconding the natural worldly wisdom of a landlord, who knows that his rent roll varies in proportion to the number of his cultivators, brings it about that the Talookdars do not generally indulge in those practices of tyranny and extortion towards their tenantry which, we are

too much given to believe, so markedly distinguishes the Native Revenue system from our own. There is but one class of men in the Province admitted to the right of direct litigation with their own Chiefs; these are the Grassias and Mool-Grassias, as they are called, who being either originally portioned cadets of the ruling tribe, or the less respectable descendants of some cateran who in the old time established his black-mail upon a village or district, have become possessed of certain proprietary rights in the land, which they defend with all the proverbial tenacity of the Rajpoot who freely takes and gives life for dirty acres.

Altogether there are no less than 224 Talookdars of sizes; each basing his right to the title upon the fact of the estate which he represents having been entered in the Doomsday Book of Colonel Walker's settlement as paying its quota of tribute by a separate and direct transaction with the British Agent. The following are the principal men.

H. H. the Nawab of Joonagurh	} Chief of the first rank.
„ „ the Jam of Nowanuggur	
„ „ the Rawul of Bhownuggur	
The Rana of Porebunder	} of the second grade.
The Raj of Drangdra	
The Thakoor of Moorvee	

Joonagurh is the premier state of the province. The city lies at the entrance of a valley, and at its north-eastern angle the dark bastions of the old Rajpoot Acropolis, the Ooparkote of Ra Khengar, still frown grandly over the "stréak of gold," the river Sona Rekha; whilst high over city and citadel, its bold black granite bluffs and tapering peaks half concealed in mist and shroud, towers the temple-crowned mount of Nemceenath, the royal Girnar. Many a time did the old Choorasama princes, who held their Court here as Ras of Soreth, and whose memory is still cherished in the country, do battle with the Mahomedan invader. After a gallant resistance the last of the Ras was starved into submission and forcibly converted to the faith of the Prophet by Mahmood Beggurra in 1468. A century afterwards when Akbar overrun Goozerat, the place was still further Islamised, and became occupied by a garrison subordinate to the Soobah of Ahmedabad. Finally amid the general anarchy that preceded the subversion of the Moguls, Shere Khan Babee, a soldier of fortune, usurped the royalties of Joonagurh: and it is his descendant who still is seated on the *guddee*. The present Nawab, after a good deal of hard usage in his earlier years, was still in his nonage when his brother, Hamed Khan, died, a youth of

great promise. A Panchayat of administration was appointed, with special injunctions from the Court of Directors that not less attention should be paid towards the preparation of the young Chieftain for the position he was destined to fill in after life, than to the nursing of the Talooka's revenues in the interval. The result however has been—chiefly no doubt attributable to the crass nature, on which the Regency were expected to work, but also in some measure, we suspect, owing to crafty views of future ascendancy over an incompetent master—that while great general prosperity was attained for the estate, its owner grew up in the Zenana an ignorant, enervated and almost fatuous boor. The intrigues of a disreputable old slave-woman, who had been the indulgent nurse of his boyhood, led to the unjustifiable repudiation of his consort, a Princess of the house of Rhadunpoor, and to a degrading alliance with the slave-woman's niece. Soon the Durbar became rent by two factions; one behind the *Purda* aiming at an acknowledgment from the Bombay Government of the legitimacy of a son by the last mentioned connection; which, once obtained, would be the sure fore-runner of the Nawab's sudden demise; and another supporting the Dewan or chief minister, who, strong in the Agency's approval of his general administration, attempted to seat himself permanently as Major of the Palace over this *Roi Faineant*. In the Dewan's case "vaulting ambition has over-leapt itself"; for having precipitated a rupture about two years ago by a too open contempt for his natural lord, he found that in the hopes of thick and thin support from Lord Elphinstone's Government, he was leaning on a bruised reed: he fell, and another has taken his stewardship. But he still intrigues for the recovery of power, and thus with a weak ministry *de facto* struggling against a powerful opposition, a fresh element of confusion has been thrown into the caldron. Altogether Joonagurh affairs are so disordered that the attachment of the entire Talooka under the supervision of a resident British officer, appears to be a mere question of time. "Puppet to a" mother's "threat, and servile to the shrewish tongue" of the slave-woman, poor Mohobut Khan is not worth the waste of further words.

It is a positive relief to turn from Joonagurh to Nowanugur. The Jam is the head of the Kattyawar branch of the great clan of Jhareja Rajpoots, which surged into the country from Sindh about the middle of the fifteenth century; and another stem of which is represented by the Rao of Kutch.

Personally, though ignorant of the English language, and possessed of a high spirit of independence that chafes under a



yoke stricter than his fathers ever knew, the Jam has more of the essentials of an English gentleman about him than any Hindoo it has yet been our lot to meet. European society is not particularly courted at Nowanuggur, but no saheb, great or small, official or independent, has ever visited its well-ordered Durbar without carrying away a real feeling of hearty regard for the active little Princeling, whose punctilious courtesy, frank and easy assumption of perfect equality, readiness to join in the chase and liberal hospitality under social intercourse, give all unaffected pleasure. The Talooka is well managed and its large compactness is the chief reason why the Hallar district gives but little trouble to the officer in charge.

But the best administered Talooka and possibly the wealthiest belongs to the Rawul of Bhownuggur. Descended from a dashing sea-rover, Mokheraju, who in the fourteenth century had his eyrie in the fossil-famed Peerim at the mouth of the Gulf of Cambay, and whose shade is to this day propitiated by the passing mariner, the Rawul is the head of the Gohil Rajpoots, a race driven in from Marwar by the Rathors A. D. 1200.

Himself boasting neither abilities nor attainments, he has the fortune to command the services of the most enlightened and upright Karbharee in the Province, and the good sense not to quarrel with him. Commerce has been the traditional policy of the state for a considerable period, and on this common field of enterprise Bhownuggur has been brought into close and frequent contact with our own traders of Bombay and Surat; the natural consequence being that Bhownuggur has become honorably identified among Kattyawar feudatories with the cause of progress and civilization. Another influence that has simultaneously worked towards the same result is of a procedure not quite so satisfactory as the shipping of good cotton bales. Part of the Rawul's territories, ever since one of his ancestors put to death some unhappy wretch who, in a season of famine, had ventured on the sacrilege of killing a cow for its beef, has been placed by Government under the sway of English laws. And for purposes of jurisdiction it was originally incorporated into the Zillah of Ahmedabad. It certainly does seem hard that any offence, however heinous, should be visited by penalties extending to the third and fourth generation: at any rate Bhownuggur never ceased to bemoan its loss of dignity. Political Agent after Political Agent sympathised with the feeling, and the Bombay Councillors themselves would have yielded to it, but for their engrained belief in the blessings of Regulation Law, which, once accorded to the people, was it not cruel to recal? By Act

VI. of 1859 a middle course was adopted, of which it can scarcely be hoped that it is less mischievous in practice than it is palpably absurd in theory. Instead of altogether withdrawing from direct interference, a course which—as the Ryots would still have sufficient protection at our hands through the Political Agency—is really open to fewer objections than might be supposed;—instead of anticipating or taking the earliest opportunity for imitating Sir R. Montgomery's first glorious step towards the regeneration of India, by giving the Rawul magisterial authority within his own dominions;—the Government of Bombay thought fit, while they continued the Regulations, to commit the execution of them to other hands. The Magistracy and Police of Ahmedabad were lamentably brusque in their proceedings: let the Political Agent and his assistants be converted into special Magistrates for the occasion, and thus shall criminal laws be delicately and diplomatically administered. This extraordinary device is still in force.

We now come to chiefs of the second class. Foremost is the Rana of Porebunder, representing the Jetwas, one of the four ancient races still extant in the Peninsula. The Rana professes to trace his origin back to a patriarch got by Hunooman, the Monkey-God, out of a female alligator. His genealogy is asserted after a fashion that would have gladdened the heart of Lord Monboddo in the family title of Pooncheria, or long-tailed, and the household bard in Colonel Tod's time "stoutly contended for a superfluity of down in Prince Sontan, only four generations ago." In the days of Ghuznevide invasion all the West and part of the North of Kattyawar belonged to the Jetwa Rajpoots, but the forays of Jhala and Jhareja have now narrowed their possessions to a small tract, called Burda, south of the shaggy range of hills of the same name. The Rana of to-day is a man of plain business habits, whose Brahmanic simplicity of attire strikes an eye accustomed to the blaze of jewels usually presented by his fellow chiefs, with an air of distinction something similar to that Talleyrand is said to have noticed in Lord Castlereagh at the Vienna Congress. Aforetime there was a British detachment stationed at Porebunder, its expenses defrayed by a cess on the Rana's port dues; but the troops have now been withdrawn, and nothing but the Christian cemetery raising its crosses by the calm blue waters of the bay, is left to tell of what has been.

The Jhalas, sprung probably from an off-shoot of Unhilwarra, on the extinction of which dynasty they obtained large territorial aggrandisement, own the Raj of Hulwud-Drangdra as their chief.

The Thakoor of Moorvee is a Jhareja, and deserves notice from the fact of his ancestor in Colonel Walker's time having been the first of the tribe who consented to abandon the fell custom of infanticide. The present incumbent of the Guddee possesses better abilities than has fallen to the lot of most of his peers, and retains the management of his Talooka considerably in his own hands. He keeps in tight check the landed proprietors under him, and from this circumstance has incurred the not wholly deserved odium of a grasping and oppressive policy. Having possessions in Cutch, he has been for long involved in various disputes with the Rao of that state, and some recent decisions of the Bombay Government in these cases have given him much dissatisfaction.

It now remains to notice generally the ten divisions of the Peninsula. These are

Five Southern.	Soreth, Babriawar, Oond-Surweya, Gohelwar, and Kattyawar Proper.
Five Northern.	Jhalawar, Muchoo-Kanta, Hallar, Burda and Okhamundel.

*Soreth* contains the Girnar Hill and Joonagurh city, the port of Verawal-Puttun and Somnath Temple—all discussed above. If we except the Shekh of Mangrole on the coast as too insignificant to glance at, the only other Talooka is Bantwa, a Mussulman township held by a junior branch of the Babees of Joonagurh. The two principal shareholders, Sir Boolund Khan and Kumuldeen Khan carry on a chronic feud, which in March 1859 was further embittered by a fight between their retainers of unusual ferocity; fifteen men killed and fifty wounded. A sham reconciliation was then got up with the object of tricking Government into a commutation of the penalties to which they had become liable; and finally they put the crown to their misdeeds by treasonably harboring the rebel Waghers. Nôse to the grindstone should be the treatment of the Bantwa Talookdars for some time to come.

In *Babriawar* a small and poor district, lying between the Geer forests and the sea, and held by Babrias and Ahirs with land-tenures of singular complication, the only town of note is Jafferabad, or more correctly Moozufferabad, a fortified port said to have been colonised by the Turks, and now belonging to the Hubshee Chief of Zunjeera near Bombay, who deposes the management of his distant estate to a violet-bearded Foujdar of indubitably African physiognomy. In connection with this district may be mentioned the sulphurated hot springs of Toolseerham in the heart of the pestilent Gheer. Superstition has ascribed the phenomenon to divine agency, so by the side of it is



reared a diamond-eyed image of Krishna, tended by a small colony of monks.

*Oond Surweya* is no bigger than Babriawar, and even more insignificant.

*Gohelwar* at the mouth of the Cambay Gulf is occupied by the Rawul of Bhownuggur, and his Bhayat, or *Peerage*. Noticeable Thakoors are those of Walleh, Lathee and Pali. The town of Walleh has been already remarked as standing near the ruins of the once splendid Wallubheepore. Lathee gave a daughter in marriage to one of the low-born Gaekwars, a condescension repaid by that monarch agreeing to accept the yearly Nuzzerana of a horse in lieu of his former demands for tribute. But emphatically the glory of Gohelwar is the hill of Shutroonjye at Palitana, dedicated to Adeenath, the first of the twenty-four hierophants of the Jains. The beauties of this ancient haunt of Indian Buddhism are described by Mr. Forbes as follows:—"There is hardly a city in India, through its length and breadth, from the river of Sindh to the sacred Ganges, from Heemala's diadem of ice-peaks, to the throne of his Virgin daughter, Roodra's destined bride, that has not supplied at one time or other contributions of wealth to the edifices which crown the hill of Paleetana; street after street, and square after square, extend these shrines of the Jain faith, with their stately enclosures, half palace, half fortress, raised in marble magnificence upon the lonely and majestic mountain, and like the mansions of another world, far removed in upper air from the ordinary tread of mortals. In the dark recesses of each temple one image or more of Adeenath or Ujeeth, or of some other of the Teerthinkers is seated, whose alabaster features, wearing an expression of listless repose, are rendered dimly visible by the faint light shed from silver lamps; incense perfumes the air, and barefooted, with noiseless tread upon the polished floor, the female votaries, glittering in scarlet and gold, move round and round in circles, chanting forth their monotonous, but not unmelodious hymns. Shutroonjye indeed might fitly represent one of the fancied hills of eastern romance, the inhabitants of which have been instantaneously changed into marble, but which fay hands are ever employed upon, burning perfumes, and keeping all clean and brilliant, while fay voices haunt the air with voluptuous praises of the Devs." And in plain truth we believe that no fabric of man's workmanship in India, not excepting even the glorious mausoleum which sent away Dr. Russell "Taj-haunted for ever," is more calculated to arouse wonder, admiration and lasting remembrance than the vision of Palitana in its unique and mysterious perfection.

*Kattyawar Proper* is a large inland district, and, as its name denotes, the country of those redoubted freebooters, who, by the awe they inspired in the Marathas, have unwillingly given their name to the whole Peninsula. They immigrated into the country in the eighth century, A. D., and from their stature, facial lineaments, and blue eyes, have been by some authorities supposed to be of Scythian origin. Their religion is a loose form of Hindooism grafted upon an ancient veneration for the orb of day: the list of witnesses appended to any of their documents still leads off with "Shree Soorujnee-Shakh," the testimony of the holy Sun. Unlike the Rajpoots who enjoy a modified form of primogeniture, the sons of a Kattee inherit by equal partition; and the minute sub-division of estates with no recognised heads of houses effected by the operation of this custom, added to an innate turbulence in their blood, renders the Kattees the most troublesome tribe of all that the agency has to deal with. What they were in former times when they could act up to the good old maxim—"Thou shalt want ere I want," may be gathered from the following specimen embalmed for us by Colonel Tod:—"Jessa, or, with the more respectful 'post-fix, Jessagee, was a fair specimen of his race. After 'sitting at his ease, for some time, indulging, like a true Kattee, 'in the most unrestrained freedom of speech, I turned the 'conversation to his past life, by asking whether he had not 'carried the honourable profession of arms to some distance 'beyond his own sequestered abode. A mere 'trifle' replied 'the moss-trooper with the greatest *nonchalance* 'never further than Bhownuggur, Puttun and Jhalawar.' If the 'reader will consult the map, he will find that Jessajee's three 'points form a triangle, embracing the most remote quarters 'of the Peninsula, East, South and West; and that a trifle beyond, in either direction, both the horse and his rider must 'have gone into the sea. On pushing him a little further, by 'observing that these were very confined limits, and inquiring 'if he had never tried the Northern or continental portion, with 'the same simplicity of manner and tone, he replied in his 'metaphorical diction, 'why, I have driven my lance into the 'gate of Ahmedabad.' I wanted no more; Jessajee, the Suzerain of Deolah, and of one dozen subjects, his township covering 'about as much soil as a good-sized mansion, had, single handed, 'insulted the capital of Goozerat!"

Of the Northern districts, *Jhalawar* is a large and fertile tract, rich in wheat and cotton, lying towards Cambay and Ahmedabad. The Jhala Chiefs ranking next after the Raj of Drangdra are the Raj of Wankaneer and the Thakoor of Wudwan. In

these parts there is a capital device for providing for every robbery either the detection of the robber or compensation to the party robbed. The village within the limits of which any such occurrence may have happened, becomes *ipso facto* bound either to produce the thief, make good the value of the property, or point out some other village whereto their own primary liability may be justly transferred. The last alternative is effected by tracking the footsteps of the robbers from the scene of their depredation into the limits of a neighbouring community, who again in their turn are at liberty, if they can, similarly to pass the responsibility on to a third village, the third to a fourth and so on, until either the fugitive offenders are run down, or their steps are no longer traceable. And where the track ceases, there the final liability rests. Large sums are not unfrequently at stake on questions arising out of this system, and, although the dexterity of the Jhalawar Pugges is such that, we suspect, even one of Cooper's impossible Red Indians might learn a wrinkle or two from them, the doubtful proofs upon which an estate is mulcted sometimes in penalties out of proportion to its means, makes these "Wultur" (compensation) cases among the most unsatisfactory which the officer in charge of the Northern districts has to adjudicate. Still in an unsettled country, the system is too valuable to allow of its being weakened by the admission of exceptional cases of impunity. And certainly great precautions are taken to exclude some obvious abuses to which its provisions are liable, by requiring every Pugges to pass a practical examination in his profession before being admitted to practice, and by largely cutting down or occasionally altogether disallowing the claim for compensation in cases where there may appear to have been want of proper precaution against loss.

*Muchoo Kanta*, or the banks of the River Muchoo, constitute a wedge-shaped district on the Runn of Cutch, the greater part of which is ruled by the Thakoor of Moorvee. The other Talookdar is the Thakoor of Mallia, a Chief of singularly limited authority. For the real masters of Mallia are the Meanas, who may be briefly characterised as the greatest rascals on the face of the earth. To the local Raja they own no kind of allegiance, but under their own Chowuttias, or Heads of tribes, form a special "imperium in imperio" of their own. The basis on which we deal with them is a formal agreement between the Agent on the one side and the Chowuttias on the other, by which in consideration of certain annual stipends the Chowuttias have agreed to consider every outrage committed within a certain circle round Mallia as necessarily the work of some Meana or other, and at



once without more ado to produce the culprit or make meet reparation for the offence. The Meanas do not confine their doings however to Mallia and its neighbourhood; numbers of them take service as Sepaees, and every boundary fight shows a Meeana or two among the killed and wounded. Mr. Forbes hits their character exactly in the following anecdote:—"One day, 'while an Arab soldier of the Gaekwar's was at his prayers, a 'Meeana passed by and asked him whom he was afraid of that he 'bent his head that way. The Arab replied with some indignation that he feared no one but Allah. 'Oh, then,' said the 'Meeana, 'come along with me to Mallia; we don't fear even 'Allah there."

*Hallar* on the gulf of Cutch belongs to the Jam of Nowanugur, and the Cadets of his house seated at Goondul, Rajkote and other places. The Goondul Durbar is in a most disreputable state just at present. Rajkote derives its only importance from its central position having recommended it as the site for our own Civil and Military Head Quarters. The usual strength of the force cantoned there is one Regiment of N. I., one of Regular Cavalry, and a post of guns. It may be doubted whether a better base for military operations might not have been found somewhere on the cool south coast: a complete armament could then have been poured into the country at a moment's notice from Kurrachee or Bombay; as it is, Rajkote is nothing more than a weak outpost cut off from Ahmedabad by a swamp, which for four months out of the twelve render the passage of troops almost an impossibility.

*Burda* belongs entirely to the Rana of Porebunder.

*Okhamundel* is the last, and in point of value and extent, the least, of all the Divisions. It is the extreme Western clan of the Peninsula, and as it has the sea on three sides of it and on the fourth a Runn about 17 miles long, stretching from the gulf of Cutch southward to within a few hundred yards of the Indian Ocean, it is in fact a little peninsula on its own account, isolated from the rest of the province by the same physical features which serve to cut off Kattyawar itself from the continent of India. The inhabitants of this sterile and jungly district, which does not altogether contain 50 villages or 13,000 inhabitants, are the notorious Waghers. Their only important places are Dwar-ka and Beyt, the former on the west coast, occupying the site of one of the most ancient cities of the Aryan race, and possessing all that sanctity in the eyes of the Hindoo which its mythic origin at the hands of Krishna should confer; the latter on a small island of the same name a few miles to the North, boasting shrines of scarcely inferior holiness; and both until recent

events strongly fortified. The history of the Waghers is briefly this. Their buccaneering practices brought down on them a British invasion: we conquered the country in 1816, and finding it not worth retention made a merit of handing it over for a handsome consideration to the Gaekwar, who desired to clothe his humble origin in the prestige which lordship of their Holy Places would confer upon him in the estimation of the Hindoos. He was inducted into his new possession in 1817, and thenceforward managed it through his deputies with a happy mixture of weakness and bad faith of which his ne'er-do-weel subjects were not slow to take advantage. In 1820 it required a brilliant little campaign under Colonel Stanhope to put them down; and still their insurrection went smouldering on until in March 1858 it again broke into flame. By the end of that year they seemed to have been once more effectually coerced, but the following June brought a fresh outbreak more serious than the last. The British Government had now lost all patience with a Prince on whom incessant exhortations to better his administration had so long idly fallen, and insisted on the Gaekwar's handing over Okha to our own direct management. The rebels received timely notice of this change of masters, and had certain distinct terms of surrender offered them. These terms were dictated by the Resident of Baroda, and were perhaps needlessly severe: such as they were however the Waghers were allowed ample grace within which to consider them, and, as they refused to accept them, were, from that time to the termination of hostilities, rebels in arms no longer against the Gaekwar but against the Supreme power of India. Troops by land and sea were thrown into Okhamundel early in October. We attacked Beyt, and were for the third time within little more than half a century (1803 and 1858 being the dates of the two preceding disasters) defeated from its walls with severe loss. The Waghers evacuated the place during the night: our forces entered next morning, and proceeded to *loot* (as they were entitled) and to blow up (as they were in prudence bound to do) the rich buildings, which, temples though they might be called, had been to their captors fortifications manned yesterday by triumphant marksmen. The Waghers fled to Dwarka: we followed, and besieged them there. One dark November night they made a sally, cut their way through the pickets of H. M's. 28th foot, and escaped across the Runn into Kattyawar with all their families and baggage. They took refuge in the Burda Hills, and in a fort well supplied with water on the top of a precipitous and jungle-covered hill seemed at last to have reached a shelter from whence they might long defy our best efforts to dislodge

them. However their good fortune had now culminated. A fresh force from Kurrachee was disembarked at Porebunder, and a week afterwards the dashing *clan* of Colonel Honner had stormed this inexpugnable position, taken 300 prisoners and broken the neck of the rebellion. The Waghers everywhere surrendered or were hunted down, and before the close of the hot weather of 1860 there remained not a dozen men still at large and unaccounted for. Civil authority personified in an Assistant to the Baroda Resident had been established in Okha almost immediately after our capture of Dwarka in 1859, and the whole rainy season of the following year was a period of repose during which it was hoped that the Waghers would settle down in their homes, and learn to reconcile themselves to their English Governor. But October last brought tidings of their again having risen, again having crossed the Runn, and this time done greater mischief in Kattyawar than they had ever dared to attempt during their previous incursion, by penetrating as far South as Korinar and pillaging that city,—it belongs to their old enemy the Gaekwar—with great ease and satisfaction of mind. All that can be said about this last outbreak is that the Assistant Resident had an extremely difficult task before him when he undertook the pacification of Okha, and that fortune has not smiled upon his efforts.

From first to last it will be observed the Kattyawar Agency have had nothing whatever to do with the Waghers.

And in making this statement we touch upon a running sore in our administration of the country, which urgently calls for knife or cautery. Besides Okhamundel there are two other estates, Umreylee in Kattyawar Proper and Korinar in South, over which the Gaekwar has by force or fraud, or both, managed to acquire the directly dominant rights of a Talookdar. Both have been subjected to the same misrule as Okha, and though a less headstrong population unaided by the advantages of isolated locality have had neither the daring nor the ability to rise in organised rebellion like the Waghers, yet both Umreylee and Korinar simmer with an unceasing anarchy fed not only by broils of an indigenous growth but by numbers of others imported into its congenial atmosphere, from neighbouring Talookas. The Gaekwar's Khass Mehals are the Alsatia of Kattyawar. The Political Agent is powerless to meddle with them; only the Resident of Baroda, who never visits Kattyawar and has necessarily but an imperfect knowledge of its condition, has any voice in their Government. It requires no conjuror to guess that they are fruitful sources of misunderstanding between the two offices; Rajkote for ever feeling peremptorily called



on to interfere, and Baroda with equal justice resenting the intrusion. We have no hesitation in asserting that had Okhamundel been under the supervision of the local Agency, these Wagher campaigns of the last three years, so damaging to our prestige, would never have occurred. When once they did occur the vehement protest of the military authorities against the anomaly of two political powers in the same country compelled Government to concentrate their representation in the single person of the Political Agent; and now again when a cry is raised that the Nuwab, the Jam, and the Rana give lukewarm or no aid in discovering the whereabouts of the fugitive rebels, does it not occur to those who have the ordering of these matters that if the pacification of the Waghers and the control of those who decline the trouble of catching them were both equal objects of consideration to one and the same officer, Englishmen might be spared the shame and expense of a wild-goose chase after a handful of miserable barbarians? There can be no shadow of a doubt but that the officer, be he personally who he may, who is put in charge of Okha, should bear the title and office of an Assistant not to the Resident of Baroda but to the Political Agent in Kattyawar. Umreylee and Korinar are as yet differently situated; their case stands in this wise: the Gaekwar, as an ally, has a right to demand that our representations on the subject of his estates and their management should be addressed to him through the sole channel of the Resident at his own Court; but this form of procedure has been found in its working to entail much bloodshed and unhappiness upon neighbouring states paying us tribute upon the condition of our protection. Is this, or is this not, sufficient reason for our saying to the Lord of Misrule,—“Henceforward ‘your deputies in Kattyawar shall stand on the same footing ‘and be amenable to the same control with all the other Talookdars of the Peninsula?”

Yet another cause of quarrel with His Highness of Baroda. By treaty he is bound to keep up “an efficient Contingent of Irregular Cavalry for service in Kattyawar. And, as the wise founders of our rule foresaw, it is absolutely necessary for the peace of the country that there should be a body of light troops at the disposal of the Agency. To do the Gaekwar justice, he spends an enormous sum annually on the corps, but his disbursements are fruitlessly appropriated by courtiers in nominal command of squadrons, and the product is a batch of half-starved ragamuffins on foundered Rosinantes to whom it would be absurd to entrust any duty more important than that of carrying the dawkh from camp to camp. All that we re-

quire is the fulfilment of a very plain engagement. If the Gaekwar cannot himself raise and maintain an efficient Contingent of Cavalry, let him hand us over the funds required for the proper redemption of his pledge, and we will do it for him. There is already a body of Irregular Arab Infantry, attached to the Agency, which, though now fallen into decrepitude, was originally raised for exactly that kind of flying service against small bodies of outlaws, wherein regulars suffer much and effect little. These footmen, together with a troop of mounted Police, called Mobsulee Sowars, require thorough reorganisation: they might then be combined with an improved Gaekwar Contingent into a really useful force of Irregulars; and so without the cost of a single sou to the state, the Political Agent might be invested with a strength and prestige which he very materially needs, and which would be the surest safeguard against the occurrence of another "little war" like that of the Waghers. Disturbances in a country, which, like the Oudh of a few years ago, bristles with forts and is rich in jungle fastnesses, while her population is habitually armed to the teeth and largely interspersed with mercenary desperadoes from Mekran, Arabia, Sindh and Beloochistan, are no trivial matters. Our Model Corps would be raised on somewhat the same principles as the Punjab Guides; but the Commandant would be strictly confined to executive functions, never moving out his men without express order from the chief Political authority;—so firmly would we guard from all chance of infection the salutary rule of holding each Talookdar responsible for the peace of his own dominions.

Another reform that we would advocate is connected with an abuse, for which the local officers of the day are in no degree responsible. It is a traditional part of our policy in the country, having its probable origin, we are inclined to think, in the fact of an inefficient Contingent having left the Political Agent powerless to maintain the peace. We refer to a feeble method of dealing with disputes about land. In a Rajkote cutcherry the maxim seems to be that a "Grass-chass noo kam" or land-case can never be finally settled, and that the most unreasonably litigious of Grassias, whose shadowy claims may have been heard twenty times over, must still be secured with some temporising expedient, some "meetoo jawab" (sweet answer) that may turn away his wrath. This system not only serves to retard the administration of justice in cases of genuine urgency, but, as giving scope for the admission and retention on the file of cases that never can come to any definite issue, leads to the Agent's camp being followed about, month after month and

year after year, by a posse of people, for whom nothing ever can or ought to be done, but who still live on in hopes of interference some lucky day in their behalf, like Miss Flite in the Court of Chancery. All this has its secret spring, we believe, in a dread of Bahrwuttia. "This term," writes Colonel Walker, "is derived from *Bahir* outside, and *wat* a road. The 'offence consists in the Rajpoots, or Grassias, making their Ryots and dependents quit their native village, which is suffered to remain waste, and the Grassia with his brethren then retires to some asylum, whence he may carry on his depredations with impunity. Being well acquainted with the country, and the redress of injuries being common cause with the members of every family, the Bahrwuttia has little to fear from those who are not in the immediate interest of his enemy, and he is in consequence enabled to commit very extensive mischief until he may be extirpated, or his principal forced to compromise the dispute." In fact a Kattyawar Bahrwuttia is just what an Oudh Dacoit was in the King's time. Hitherto it has been usual to coax and wheedle the outlaw into surrender; and his crimes have been visited with slender punishment. Let us cite the first case that occurs to our memory. The date, we think, was in 1844, the Grassia's name Veasaju Oonurjee; at any rate he was "out" against the Thakoor of Palitana, and the Political Secretary for the time was Mr. J. P. Willoughby, now of the Home Council. Veasaju was tried on several counts by a Criminal Court presided over by the Political Agent with three or four natives of rank as Assessors. For want of judicial proof he escaped a general conviction, but on the first count, embracing the three crimes of *murder, arson and robbery*, he was unanimously found guilty. The Court sentenced him to a pecuniary fine, and detention until he furnished proper security. The Government of Bombay, in reviewing this decision, upheld the conviction, but mitigated the fine and directed that the prisoner should be at once released, adding that his conduct, *in the existing state of Kattyawar society, called for a merely nominal punishment!* The only comment we have to offer on the above is that if Sir George Clerk's Government intend, as we have reason to believe they do intend, dealing with Bahrwuttias for the future after a very different fashion, they must themselves undo what their predecessors have done. A local officer has not, nor ought to have, the power of inaugurating a change so momentous in a policy so inveterate. A proclamation should be issued by the Governor in Council and circulated with every circumstance of authoritative publicity through every city and hamlet in Kattyawar, warning the wild people that their prac-



tice of Bahrwuttia has been proscribed under the severest penalties. A wide margin of time should be allowed them to consider well the meaning of the words, but when once that interval had elapsed, woe to the first who dared to disobey ! Three or four executions would soon put down the Bahrwuttias for ever.

Generally indeed, we are disposed to think, there has been too much leniency in Kattyawar. Colonel Lang, the late admirable Warden of the Chiefs, on this head merely kept going a policy originated before his time. Moreover in Colonel Lang's case, a clear intellect and warm sympathies devoted unreservedly for thirty years to the single study of furthering the happiness of his beloved Kattyawar, had justly invested him with an extraordinary personal influence that would have enabled him to work single-handed and successfully the craziest machine of state that ever was started. Almost worshipped by every class in the Peninsula, high and low, great and small alike, it is an absolute misfortune for any one to hold the invidious place of his successor. Yet the work must be done, and much of it, we fear, calls for the unpopular duties of a reformer, who shall abolish what has become effete, put new life into more useful principles that have been allowed to slumber, and at all points patiently, gradually and surely, brace up our rule to a state of stricter discipline. A constitution relaxed by a succession of *Sahib's Meherban* needs at last a course of tonics under a *Sahib Zubburdust*. Especially do we deprecate the false benevolence of interfering with the domestic affairs of a Talooka to save it from pecuniary embarrassment; so long as our tribute is safe, and the peace unbroken, let all else perish. Coddled children have ricketty health; and a Chief, who after having imbibed the best education we may have been able to throw in his way, may once have discovered by experience that his prodigality will hurt no one but himself, and that if he takes to boundary-fights we shall infallibly make him smart for them, will be a far more valuable member of society, than one whom we have for ever been trying to keep out of harm's way. The latter is apt to get bored, hand over his affairs to a favorite, and take to noyeau or opium: the former may in time recognise his true position as a vassal of the British Crown, and as a landlord with duties to perform towards his state. Possibly he might even disband his tag-rag tail of sepaees, and awake to the advantages of growing cotton and owning a share in a Bombay newspaper; who knows? At present Kattyawar is a barbarism pure and simple, her people having just two virtues, patriarchal hospitality and comparative truthfulness.

And the first lesson to be installed into all ranks is the same Lord Canning taught the Khans of Peshawur: "You shall have justice, but your Suzerain will have peace."

A word or two in conclusion may be acceptable regarding the two species of Kattyawar denizens that have made the name of the country familiar to most people, viz., the lions and horses.

The famous old breed of horses that bore the thieving Kattees on this forays—they, by the way always affected mares for their singularly unfeminine qualities of superior silence—and that mounted H. M.'s 17th Dragoons in such a style that two successive Colonels (one of them being the same Honorable Lincoln Stanhope who suppressed the Wagher revolt of 1820) testified to the Regiment being better mounted than any other Cavalry corps in the service, is either extinct, we regret to say, or fast dying out. Now-a-days there is nothing to be found in the country with legs even decently strong boned. The half dozen Arab stations of the Government Remount Agency, scattered through the country, are too few to leaven the mass. A regular Stud-Farm, and a Race-Meeting at Rajkote in which the Chiefs of the province might be induced to take an interest, would effect real good.

From accounts still to be read in back numbers of the *Indian Sporting Review* it is clear that formerly lions were to be met with in any part of Kattyawar; now however these animals are only to be found in the Geer jungles; and consequently the sport they afford, like Tiger-shooting in the Oudh Terai, offers itself at the risk of fever from malaria and unwholesome water. Colonel Le Grand Jacob, who shot numbers, maintains that it is a mistake to suppose the Goozerat lion has no mane, and imagines that the hair is thinned by perpetual entanglement with the thorns and underwood of the forest; but on the other hand, a writer in the *Quarterly Review* describing a specimen presented to the Zoological Gardens of London by the late Nawab of Joonagurh, compares it with a young African lion that boasted a fine mane, and says:—"The full-grown animal from 'Goozerat is, on the contrary, comparatively maneless, and his 'tail takes a short curl upwards at the end. The caudal extremity 'of both is furnished with a rudimentary claw. This little appendage was supposed by the ancients to be instrumental in lashing 'the lion into fury, and Mr. Gordon Cumming informs us that the 'natives of South Africa believe it to be the residence of an evil 'spirit which never evacuates its post until death overtakes the 'beast and gives it notice to quit. The Goozerat or maneless lion 'is supposed to be the original of the heraldic beast we regard

‘ with such respect as a national emblem, but which foreigners ‘ maintain is nothing better than a leopard.” There are no tigers in Kattyawar: indeed they are seldom found anywhere, we believe, in the neighbourhood of lions. With this exception the sport all over Kattyawar is first-rate. The fanatical Hindoo and Jain inhabitants, who consider all virtue and religion to consist in the preservation of animal life, and who never stick at robbery to prevent the butchering of a sheep, and sometimes not at murder to revenge the death of a cow, are the finest game preservers in the world. In many parts you may shoot black-buck from your tent-door, or pick off a *chinkara* with your revolver while driving on the public road. Hog too are not wanting to be hunted, nor hares and foxes to be coursed. In the cold weather *Koolum*, bustard and wild-duck, are capital eating; and in the rains it is always matter of emulation at Rajkote who shall shoot the first purple crested florican. Quail and partridges abound all over the province.

One last word as to the climate. All the year round it is equable and temperate, and in the hot weather, when everywhere else in India doors and windows are barred to exclude the furnace puffs of outer air, the coast of Kattyawar is balmy with the wet breath of Ocean breezes blowing fresh from the South Pole. The whole Agency is under canvass, and the tent of each Political officer becomes a nucleus round which in pic-nic fashion gather the tents of everybody who can manage to slip away from dust and duty at Rajkote, with sometimes a stray sportsman from even the more distant stations of Surat and Ahmedabad, to bathe, shoot, hunt, eat pomfret and oysters, and enjoy that perfection of *dolce far niente*, which, as the song of the Lotus-eaters may show us, can be found only in the soft languid atmosphere of a summer sea.

Have we established our proposition that Kattyawar is both an interesting country and a pleasant? If anything could atone for a sacrilegious attempt to parody the glad choric outburst in the Colonean *Œdipus*, would not a Hindoo be almost justified in exclaiming?—“ ’T is the fairest land in all the Orient, this ‘ land so rich in horses, black-cliffed Kattyawar, with her girdle ‘ of sapphire seas, and woods for ever haunted by the sweet ‘ jug-jug of the wandering Koel: still troops through her glades, ‘ leading a crew of laughing damsels, crowned with green leaves ‘ and faces all on flame, the God of many titles, Bacchus or ‘ Krishna, the shepherd-nurtured conqueror of Ind” ?—

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ART. IX.—1. *Military Despatch from the President in Council at Calcutta, dated 7th January 1860, No. 6, giving cover to Minutes recorded by SIR JAMES OUTRAM and SIR HENRY FRERE on the Question of the Amalgamation of Her Majesty's Indian Forces with the British Army.*

2. *Further Minutes by SIR JAMES OUTRAM, SIR HENRY FRERE and MR. WILSON on the organization of the Army, dated 11th February, 1860.*

OF late years, the condition of the soldier has excited considerable attention, and been the subject of numerous pens. It would appear, however, both from the impracticable nature of many of the schemes proposed, and from the neglect with which the small number which escape that stigma, have been received, that the subject is still in its infancy. This circumstance can raise no feeling of wonder in our minds when we consider, how much patient labour, how many years, how much earnest thought other objects of study have required before their arrival at comparative perfection. Social science as applied to the army, is a very young member of the fraternity of sciences; little systematic study has been devoted to the elucidation of its mysteries; and we ought, under all attendant circumstances, rather to rejoice that its vital importance is now assumed as a recognized fact, than to despond because a more advanced stage of progress has not yet been reached. The science appears to the cursory observer sufficiently simple; but when we take into consideration the heterogeneous mass of which our army is composed, an assemblage of men who, without losing the passions, prejudices, feelings, and notions of their brethren in civil life, have grafted on them—so to speak—a new nature; when we consider these circumstances, the difficulty of a due comprehension of the subject becomes sufficiently apparent. Man in the abstract has been the theme and the study of the philosophers and writers of every age. He has been analyzed, observed, dissected, by every class of mind; from the sages of ancient Greece, and our greatest modern politicians, down to Poet Laureates, and the authors of the latest French novels. The study has not been deemed too trivial by the most profound genius, or too deep by the merest man of fashion. There is nothing on which we value ourselves so much, as a real or fancied knowledge of the world; and what is that, but an insight into the minds and passions of the units which make up the mass. Pope says “the noblest study of mankind is man;” and no axiom was ever so thorough-

ly recognised as true, by all thinking men, and so readily accepted as a dogma, by that numerous class, who are content to accept the mental results of others, without troubling themselves to test their truth. The greatest British novelist of the present, perhaps of any age, one who has been eminently successful in clothing the instructive maxims of the profoundest philosophy in a dress attractive even to the merest trifler who ever relied on a circulating library for assistance to kill that arch enemy of fools, time—he has put into the mouth of one of his characters, “knowledge is power,” and though demonstrating in the most impressive manner, that mere knowledge, unaided by religion, unsupported by principle, resembles a ship without ballast and can only bring destruction on the owner, yet experience teaches us that no great work can be accomplished without a knowledge of detail.

Have we obtained that knowledge of the additional soldier nature—if I may use the term—of the gallant men who have done so much for England’s fame; and can we hope to influence them, that is acquire moral power over them, without intimate and detailed knowledge of their habits, thoughts, and feelings? To this question the candid reader can give but a negative reply. The subject till the last few years has not been deemed of sufficient importance to provoke investigation; and even *during* the last few years, those who have treated of it have been few in number and for the most part unqualified by experience to claim the attention of practical men. A different feeling and an awakened interest on a topic so important as the welfare of those to whom the honour of our country is entrusted, is now no longer a hope but a reality. It is no longer merely professional men whose thoughts are thus occupied; the general public clamorously demand that the interest they feel shall be responded to by our rulers in the adoption of any measures tending either to the physical or moral advantage of a class now recognised to have been too long neglected. Any delay in ameliorations of a life of mingled ennui and hardships now scarcely proceeds so much from a dislike of innovations, as from considerations of economy and the dread of people like Cobden and Bright; men who while complaining loudly if every department of, what may be termed, the National Honour and Safety Insurance Company be not carried to the highest possible perfection; yet, with ignorant inconsistency, grudge the expense necessary for effecting their desires. The pressure from without is, however, increasing in strength so rapidly, that mere financial considerations will no longer be admitted as excusing us from doing what our duty

and our interest equally demand. It is to be regretted that military men do not more frequently bestow on the public the results of their experience. To this omission must be attributed the crude and imperfect notions by which the public mind is possessed. The public is earnest but ignorant and, in these days of special correspondents, listens eagerly to the most unqualified teachers. It imagines that because a man is able to give a good resumé of the politics of a foreign court, to analyze the causes of a French revolution, to declaim on the baneful results of Papal tyranny—because he can do this, and do it eloquently if not philosophically and impartially, he is supposed to be perfectly competent to discuss questions relating to a class, of whom he has had no experience, and with whom he has held no intercourse. Such men accept without hesitation the confidence reposed in them, and are quite ready to pronounce the Duke of Wellington a fool and to call Napoleon their brother.

In times now happily passing away the soldier was looked upon as so much raw material, to be expended as the whim or ambition of kings and ministers might dictate. Guns, ammunition, and soldiers, were classed in the same category, or if any thing, soldiers were placed in a lower scale of value. Such ideas being prevalent, we cannot wonder if the nature of the material, except as to personal strength and health, and even that in an inferior degree to numbers, was little regarded. “Food for powder”—“Any man will fill a trench or stop a bullet”—these are phrases that are but now falling into disuse. Previous character or occupation was not enquired into, and moral influence ignored except when employed to excite the soldier’s enthusiasm on the day of battle. The means employed to maintain coherence in a most heterogeneous mass, were thoroughly consistent with the ideas above indicated. A system of coercion, miscalled discipline, was adopted, which would have shamed the keepers of a menagerie. The revolting details have been too often brought before the public to render it necessary that we should enlarge upon so disgusting a theme. Under such circumstances the soldier could not fail to learn the lesson which his commanders appeared desirous of teaching him. His self-respect soon took flight, and he began to believe that in good sooth he *was* a degraded, valueless being. This opinion spread from military to civil ranks, and it became the feeling of even the lowest classes, that “to go for a soldier” was the climax to every vice, the completion of the greatest degradation. Among the lower and uneducated classes, especially in England, opinions frequently retain their hold on the public mind long after the causes from which they took their rise have disappeared; and to this memo-



ry of the past, must we, in great measure, attribute the excessive difficulty often experienced at the present day, in satisfactorily filling up the ranks of the army—an army, which both absolutely, and in proportion to the population, is the smallest maintained by a first rate power. The soldier is now both highly valued and well treated, but we still continue, in some measure, to reap the consequences of our former neglect. Did we not look to the past it would be difficult to understand the repugnance of respectable men to adopt a career which, at all events to the inexperienced and adventurous, possesses many brilliant attractions.

Setting aside the exaggerations or delusions of the fancy, a soldier is, generally, in a much better position than his brother in civil life. Opinions may differ as to the cause, but this much is certain as to the effect, that, neither do we in the advent of any emergency, obtain recruits with sufficient rapidity, nor is there at any time as much respectability comprised in their ranks as is desirable. We do not attribute this disinclination for the military profession, to the present treatment and condition of its members; it is in the recollection of the past that we recognize the cause. In the days we live in, the soldier holds a position which is not only an improvement on that occupied by his predecessors, but is in itself absolutely good, both as regards himself individually, and also as respects the estimation of the public. It is a mistake to suppose that *many* respectable men are deterred from enlisting by the small chance which exists of their obtaining a commission; and it is removed from the fact to imagine such to be a grievance in the Barrack room. Civilian writers are continually obtruding it as a deterring cause of great magnitude. Such is a fallacy, and one which is propounded equally from ignorance of the soldier's feelings, and a want of consideration as to its results. Doubtless this assertion will be met with many theoretical reasons exposing our error, and showing how utterly incompetent men are to give an opinion about a profession in which they have spent some years. We deal with facts not theories, and those Regimental officers who have always taken a warm interest both in their men and their profession will challenge enquiry. At this point we cannot avoid remarking that, while in all other professions, a special education with experience superadded is demanded, before any one treating of those professions is deemed worthy of attention: yet, when the army is in question, the man who has derived all his information from newspapers or reviews, and has never mixed with soldiers in his life, pours forth opinions in an *ex cathedra* manner, in this case received with approbation, but which in no other profession

would be tolerated. The public insist, and with justice, that officers shall receive a professional education combined with practical instruction, before they are allowed to perform any but the most elementary duties ; and yet, in the face of this, those who are without either, discuss the subject with the confidence of professors and the ignorance of school boys. May we suggest to these reformers : " Ne sutor ultra crepidam." To return to our subject.

Not one man in five hundred, and in this we are overstating it, ever enlists with the idea of obtaining a Commission. Indeed many when acquainted with the service refuse the proffered advancement. We have both known and heard of several cases of this nature. In one of them we were consulted by the Non-Commissioned officer to whom the Commission had been offered. We laid before him the various advantages and disadvantages connected with the subject, leaving it to him to form his own opinion. The result was that the Commission was declined.\* It was on the same occasion offered to other Non-Commissioned officers in the same regiment, and it was not till several had refused it, that one of comparatively inferior standing and merit was at last found to accept the doubtful boon. In considering the question of promotion from the ranks, it is not just to compare our service with that of the French. The circumstances under which it is found, or assumed by its advocates, to answer in France, are widely different from those under which it takes place in England. Owing to the system of conscription prevailing in France the ranks of its army contain many men who are gentlemen by birth, but a still larger number possessed of considerable education. The French are not rich, the cost of a substitute is a serious consideration ; from which cause their army is filled with many men in every way fit for the position and duties of officers. Moreover in France officers hold a very inferior social position compared to that occupied by their professional brethren in England. The appearances and expenses which custom demands from the latter, are unknown to the former. Storekeeperships, Barrackmasterships, appointments in the Police, in the pensioner force, or on the Recruiting Staff, would in reality be much more advantageous both to the service and to individuals than the indiscriminate gift of regimental Commissions. We say *indiscriminate*, as we do not wish to advo-

\* Subsequently, during active hostilities, which exceptional state of things, we presume, gave in his opinion a preponderating weight to the advantages, he accepted a renewed offer, and has since not only acquired distinction coupled with some rank but also the esteem of all his brother officers.

cate absolute exclusion from regimental Commissions. Experience teaches us that a gentleman in the ranks is generally more worthless than his more humbly born comrades, yet occasionally exceptions do occur, both amongst them and those who spring from the lower and middle classes. From the latter individuals, in particular, men may *sometimes* be selected who in character, mind, education, manner, and refinement, in short in every quality which fits for command, are equal to any and superior to some of the officers whom fortune has placed above them. To shut the door on the honourable ambition of such persons, would be equally impolitic and unjust. Unfortunately their number is much too small to justify the *system* of promotion, from the ranks to regimental Commissions. The system is bad, but exceptions may, with advantage, be occasionally made. Such promotion should however, only be viewed as incidental, and not as a component part of any scheme for raising the moral condition of the Army. Let us now proceed to review the question as it relates to the individual promoted. Imagine the position of a meritorious married Non-Commissioned officer—and a large number of them are married—promoted, with unusual good fortune, at the age of thirty to the rank of Ensign. In England deducting the cost of keeping up his uniform, his soldier-servant's wages, Band and Mess subscriptions, and the appearances which he and his family are obliged to maintain, scarcely sufficient remains to put mere bread into their mouths. As an officer he would be infinitely poorer than before his promotion. If appointed to the Adjutantcy his condition is certainly improved, but when we take into consideration the incidental expenses incurred by keeping a horse, and that in any case he must lay by money for the education of an increasing family, we must admit that, even then, his lot is not one to be envied. Fairly to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of the case, we must not lose sight of the years which will probably elapse before he attains even the rank of Captain, and the heart-burnings caused by seeing boys, young enough to be his sons, passing over his head. Taking every thing into consideration, it must be a sanguine mind indeed which can believe that his example, the sight of his struggles continually before their eyes, is likely to act as a very powerful incentive to his late comrades in the ranks. In India and some of the colonies he is better off than in England, but unless he hold the Adjutantcy or some other appointment bringing him in more than his mere subaltern's pay, or be without children, his lot is still a hard one. Suppose him to have a family; he is obliged to provide for their future education, and their main-



tenance in case of his death; also to defray the expenses incurred by moving his family, either when the regiment proceeds to England, or merely makes its ordinary periodical change of quarters—in both of which instances a considerable outlay is necessary—and those required in case he or any of his family should be compelled by ill health to seek to recruit it either by a trip to the Hills, or a more lengthened journey to their native land. The sources of expense here indicated cannot be termed suppositions, and money must be laid by to meet them. A Non-Commissioned officer appointed either Quartermaster or Paymaster is somewhat better off in England, and considerably so in India, than if he had been appointed to a simple commission. The remarks, therefore, which we have made as to insufficiency of income, must in this instance be considered as only applying in a modified sense. We must however bear in mind that in every case the promoted Non-Commissioned officer has nothing but his pay to depend on, and that he must make that provide for the cares of the future as well as the wants of the day; he must lay by money for the education and establishment of his children, as well as for the maintenance of his widow.\*

If the Non-Commissioned Officer promoted be single, his circumstances are much easier; indeed in India and the colonies he can live with comfort on his pay as an Ensign, and if fortunate enough to obtain the Adjutantcy, or Paymastership, or to have been appointed in the first instance Quarter-Master instead of Ensign, he can not only live like his brother officers, but also save money. In England as Ensign, or even Quarter-Master on first appointment, he has to undergo—as any who has tried it can vouch for—a life of perpetual struggle and self-denial. As a Paymaster he can from his first appointment live on his pay, but the amount of security required before obtaining that office is very considerable,† and is likely to limit the number of men risen from the ranks who obtain it, to a very small number. The reader will observe that in considering this important subject in its various relations to the comfort of the individual promoted, we have given due weight to every favourable chance; but we cannot inaugurate a system which is dependent on favourable chances; still less can we—once having admitted the *principle* of promotion from the ranks—exclude men from advancement, even when involving certain misery, merely because they are married. If we wish to esta-

\* The pension granted to the widow and orphans of a subaltern is very small.

† Himself in £2000 and two securities each of a similar amount.

lish a really sound system, we must legislate under the supposition of the most *unfavourable* instead of the most *favourable* chances. It may be answered, and with some plausibility, that a Non-Commissioned officer who is burdened with a family has it in his power to refuse. That is undoubted; but how many are acquainted with all the conditions of their future career, or *if* they *have* heard of them, are not too much blinded by the prospect of immediate advancement, to reflect on future trials and distant hardships. The lower a man is in the social scale, the less provident of the morrow he will be found. Is it real kindness to leave him a victim to his own inexperience and ignorance? We think not. Before quitting this division of the question, we would say that the objections we have urged against the proposed system, are to a certain extent modified, by the exceptional condition of a state of war. Having to keep up, as it were, two establishments, although his own cost him but little, his purse is severely taxed; but then there is the chance of promotion—with Lucknow and Delhi before our eyes we will not say of prize money—if he survives; that fatal *if*, for should death claim him, the widow's pension will be but a scanty pittance.

We have already discussed every possible circumstance connected with the *pecuniary* position of the individual; we now proceed to touch upon his social position and the inconveniences which attend the intercourse between himself and his brother officers.

By promotion to the rank of an officer, and the honorary position of a gentleman, he is thrown amongst a society where, to use a common phrase, he is of necessity "basketted." Between himself and his companions, there can scarcely exist one common topic of interest. His previous life, his limited means, both operate as a bar to any participation in their pleasures, and his want of a liberal education to a due share in their conversation. *They* talk of people he is unacquainted with, of a society of whose habits and customs he is ignorant, and of amusements or pursuits in which he has never indulged. Should the conversation at the mess table turn on general literature, how can he join in it? should politics be touched on, he is scarcely more at home; on sporting matters he is still abroad; on mutual friends—who are his? In short the hours, manners, and mode of life adopted by his brother officers are all new, all awkward, and he cannot himself but feel, or be ignorant that he is regarded by others as inferior in social position to the rawest lad who holds the rank of Ensign. When past the flexible period of youth; at an age when manners, habits, and tastes

are no longer easily acquired, he is called on to begin, as it were, his education afresh. Kindness and consideration at the hands of his brother officers he is certain to meet with; yet he cannot conceal from himself, that though among them, he is not of them. In the field his social position is infinitely more natural, much more agreeable. Little solecisms of manner and language are not regarded when any hour may be your last, when you are removed from every association connected with the amenities and polish of civil life. At such times the mask of conventionality is torn off by the remorseless hands of a stern and rough reality. It is then that intrinsic qualities and actions take a position high above the artificial and acquired graces, just as a stout earthenware tea cup would, under the same circumstances, be preferred to one made of the finest Dresden. A man is on a campaign more valued for what he is than for what he seems. If he be married his case is still worse. Little failings of manner, expressions, and habits, are tolerated in the man whose personal merit has raised him to the position he occupies, but the same toleration is not extended to his wife; *she* shares the rank, not the merit which obtained it. Occupying a position, which she knows not how to sustain, cut off from former friends and associates, without being able to supply their place in her new sphere, she is indeed an object of sympathy. Her husband's brother officers may be kind and attentive, but it by no means follows that the conduct of their wives should be similar. Ladies are much less lenient than gentlemen to people whom they consider outsiders.

We have hitherto considered the subject only as it relates to the individual himself; it now remains to investigate the manner in which it affects both the public service, and those with whom he is brought into contact.

In the first place, as regards the Non-commissioned officers and privates. It is well known to all, the least acquainted with the feeling of the ranks, that the men much prefer gentlemen for their commanders to those who have sprung from their own class; and pay the former a much more willing and cheerful obedience than the latter. A not unnatural jealousy is to some extent, the origin of this feeling. "Who's he, I should like to know, that's ordering us about in this way;" "he's no better than any of us;" "why I remember him a private only the other day." Such are the unexpressed thoughts which rankle in many a bosom; and which not seldom find an utterance. In obeying the orders of a gentleman officer—we use the term in a distinctive, not an offensive sense—the soldier is only acting in obedience to an instinct with which he has all his life



been familiar. In obeying his officer, he obeys one of a class he has been trained from childhood to respect. It is not merely education and military rank, but also social position which he here recognizes, and to which he bows. We can venture to assert, that there are few who are greater aristocrats than the British soldier. Moreover a gentleman officer has always been accustomed to be surrounded by inferiors; therefore the power with which he finds himself invested in the army is not so new to him as to the officer promoted from the ranks, and is consequently exercised in a much more considerate and far less overbearing manner by the former than by the latter. Soldiers are particularly sensitive as to the manner in which they are treated; and a rough style of speaking to them is almost more resented than positive ill treatment. The bad effect, of suddenly acquired power, on uneducated or half educated minds, is too well known to render it necessary that I should here enlarge upon it. Again the officer promoted from the ranks, is very apt to overstep the line which limits his new duties, and to confound the position of Non-Commissioned officer and officer in a manner, which has a most harassing effect on the men, who prefer the greatest severity to being, what they call, 'humbugged about.' If he is Adjutant, he is often called upon to perform duties of a most unpopular nature towards the young officers; duties the comfortable and efficient performance of which demand the exercise of considerable tact. Now *tact*, is precisely the quality in which such a man is likely to be most deficient. An Adjutant requires every adventitious aid, to enable him to obtain that moral power, that feeling of personal respect, so requisite to his efficiency. The fact of the young officers being able to despise him for want of birth and manner is a great bar to his acquiring that influence, which when possessed renders their mutual career so much more pleasant, and contributes so greatly to the welfare of the regiment. All we have said respecting an Adjutant applies still more strongly to a Commanding officer. Depend upon it, that whether the question be considered with reference to the real interests of the individual, those of the service, or as an inducement to good conduct and emulation, and as a means of obtaining a better class of recruits, promotion from the ranks to regimental commissions will be found associated with so many practical evils as far to outweigh the theoretical advantages so much insisted on. The social improvement of the army must, as a general rule, be sought for in the adoption of other measures. We will proceed to touch slightly upon a few of the means which would tend to promote so desirable an object.

A more intimate connection and association between officers and men, and a constant endeavour to convince the latter that their officers are desirous to prove themselves friends as well as superiors, are desirable. A great deal may be done towards carrying out this purpose, by mixing in their amusements; such as cricket, foot ball, and theatricals. By such means not only is a kindly feeling created between the commander and the commanded, but an officer is enabled to make himself acquainted with the habits and dispositions of those under him. Such knowledge is the groundwork of all moral influence. It is a mistake to imagine that such a course endangers an officer's position, or renders him liable to that familiarity on the part of those below him which is generally supposed to breed contempt. That character must be of small calibre which cannot, under any circumstances, not in themselves degrading, assert a claim to the respect to which its possessor is by position entitled. He who is obliged to rely entirely on adventitious aid, and the habits of military discipline, for a proper comportment on the part of his inferiors, may obtain the obedience that will be paid to his commission—but can never hope for influence. When Officers take a part in their men's amusements no people can display more anxiety than the British soldier both to pay all due respect himself and also to enforce a proper observance of it on the part of others. We believe such a course to have been productive of mutual kind feelings, and to have created a tie which may or might be of the greatest utility. In adopting such a line of conduct, judgment and tact are of course requisite for success, but these qualities are generally present with the educated class from which the officers of the army are for the most part taken. The practice of looking on the British soldier as a mere machine destitute alike of gratitude, the finer feelings, or the higher qualities, is much to be censured. Such a view generally proceeds from their having devoted too little attention to the study of the class on whom they pass so unjust a judgment. The soldier is a man like his officer, with a nature of course modified by circumstances and education, but the groundwork of that nature is similar to that of his superiors. Let the Officer judge him by his own feelings, and he will be much more successful in his treatment than he is otherwise likely to be. The charge of ingratitude so often alleged against the soldier we believe to be without foundation. Indeed we will go farther, and say, that many an officer has received from his men benefits and attentions in the field which he had by no means merited by any kindness to them in quarters. Soldiers

are often *temporarily* unreasonable and unjust; who is not? and they may in the irritation caused by some necessary but irksome restraint, appear to have forgotten all former benefits. This soon passes away; they judge of their superiors by *habitual* conduct, and their sense of justice may, in the long run be safely trusted to. Indeed did we wish to know the real character of any officer we should expect to obtain the most exact information on that head from the men under his command. Such is the general mode of treatment we would recommend, but there are others more practical, more material, which in our opinion, would tend greatly to promote the success of the first, as well as to secure that end of which moral influence is only the means, namely, the welfare and efficiency of our army.

1st. Hold out to deserving and educated Non-Commissioned officers, a prospect of advancement through commissions as officers, on the Recruiting Staff, the Corps of Out-Pensioners, the Ordnance, Commissariat, and Barrack departments, appointments to the higher grades of the Police, Head Constabships and Governorships of prisons. For the three last—excepting the Metropolitan Police and the Irish Constabulary—the concurrence of the country gentlemen and county Magistrates, would be required; but when we contemplate the awakened military spirit, the increased interest in the army now pervading all classes of civilians, we feel assured, that in any scheme tending to the amelioration of the soldier, the most cordial co-operation, the most disinterested assistance, may be confidently expected.

2nd. Bestow—and here again civilian co-operation is required—on those who, though deserving non-commissioned officers or meritorious privates, are not equal, either in character or education, to holding the higher class of appointments we have mentioned, subordinate appointments, in the Commissariat, Ordnance, and Barrack Departments, as Porters or Messengers in Public Offices, Gate-keepers in the Public Parks and Masters of Workhouses.

3rd. Elevate the condition of the Soldier when serving, by giving him those means of healthy and innocent recreation, in default of which he will most assuredly provide himself with others of a less harmless tendency. Man cannot exist without *some* occupation, and is not specially prone to that which is bad; occupation and amusement of some sort, however, he must have, and if precluded from the good he will most certainly fly to that which is bad. The human mind in thus acting, is only fulfilling the laws of nature; it abhors a vacuum, and care should be taken that this vacuum is not left to undirected energy or



languid carelessness to fill. When the soldier is off duty, amuse him, occupy him, direct and stimulate the exercise both of his body and mind in due proportions, and the Bazaars will be emptied, the bottle neglected and less time given for the entry of evil thoughts into his mind.

In a sanatory, and consequently an economical point of view, moreover, this subject claims the attention of the authorities. It is well known that the British Soldier costs a large sum before he can be considered as trained, and a still larger before he can be landed in India. Now it is in connection with this country that the subject not only possesses most interest for those whose eyes this article will meet, but also where the results aimed at are most important. It is a recognized fact that in India ennui is one of the chief enemies against which the European resident has to contend, and that want of success in this struggle bears directly on the question of health. Much has already been done by Government, more by regimental officers, to discover and provide new sources of amusement for the soldier, as well as to support those already established. Where such interests are concerned, it behoves however, all who value the efficiency of our army, and consequently the permanency of our dominion, to persist in calling attention to such an important branch of social economy, until a complete and methodical system is everywhere adopted. These amusements should be of two descriptions: indoor, and outdoor. All men are not constituted alike, and many both from want of health, and from idiosyncrasy, take little pleasure in sedentary pursuits, while there are others who only care for active occupation and a still larger class who would wish to combine the two. We cannot be too careful in avoiding the very natural tendency on the part of highly educated men to give an undue preference to mental over physical occupations; for great as is the importance of the former, a moderate amount of exercise is in India absolutely essential to health. Recreation should be provided, suited to all the various tastes and habits necessarily existing in such a large body of men as compose a regiment. The details of such a scheme, might with advantage be left to the judgment of the officers of each corps. The authorities should confine themselves to insuring that the subject was neither discouraged nor neglected, and to affording aid, pecuniary or otherwise, for efficiently carrying out such measures as might be suggested, and which seemed on due examination to be worthy of support. The origination and details of the various schemes, might be permitted to proceed from a board of officers in each regiment, under the superintendence of the Commanding Officer, and sub-

ject to a general control by the Adjutant General of the Army. His principal province is discipline, and nothing is so intimately connected with discipline as such a provision of occupations as shall leave to the men neither taste nor leisure for crime and irregularities. We have scarcely space here to enter into detail as regards the amusements and occupations we would suggest. We will merely mention some of those which most readily occur to us. They are the following: Cricket, Rackets, Skittles, Theatricals, Football, Quoits, Scotch games of various sorts, Gymnasiums, Glee clubs, Reading rooms, and Libraries,—where not only trifling refreshments might be obtained but also a harmless game of dominoes, chess, drafts or backgammon might be indulged in—and Military work-shops. The advantages of Military work-shops are too great and numerous to be enumerated in these pages, so we shall not enlarge upon the subject farther than to say, that in them, not only could the trained artisan, keep up his skill, thereby increasing his income while serving, and enabling himself without difficulty to resume his former career on quitting the service, but also the man without a trade could learn one, and by this means place himself in a position to obtain a livelihood, on returning to civil life, without having recourse to that charity, which, to the discredit of the military profession is so often requested by men who have not served sufficiently long to earn a pension. Above all must education, and that without which education is more often a snare than a benefit, namely religion, be relied on, if we wish to see the ranks of the glorious British army filled by men, who besides intrepid conduct on the day of battle, show by their behaviour in time of peace, that the army is a school not a temptation; and that they who defend their native hearths, are equally fitted to adorn those native hearths when their patriotic duty has been accomplished. Let there no longer be a separation between the gallant soldier and the good citizen; and in the evening of our days, let those who have worn the Queen's uniform, on being pointed out any one remarkable for his social virtues, be able to say with pride, more frequently than at present, "He too has served."

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ART. X.—1. *Sonthal Police Rules.*

2. *Rules for Civil Procedure in the Sonthal Pergunnahs.*

3. *Journal of the Asiatic Society.*

4. *Papers connected with the Sonthal Rebellion.*

IN the beginning of the year 1855 the Sonthal Pergunnahs were non-existent and the Sonthals to the world unknown. The tract of country now so called was then divided between the districts of Bhaugulpore, Berhampore and Beerbhoom. The Damun-i koh, a Government khas mehal, more thickly populated with Sonthals than any other part of the Pergunnahs, was under the fiscal and general management of Mr. Pontet subordinate to the Commissioner of Bhaugulpore, and in criminal matters in the jurisdiction of the Magistrate of Bhaugulpore. Thannahs were attached to Bhaugulpore, to Berhampore and to Beerbhoom.

Under the old system of management there was in all this extent of country, only one resident Magistrate at Deoghur, a station at the extreme North West boundary of the then Beerbhoom District and the great mass of the people had to go to Bhaugulpore, Beerbhoom or Aurungabad (a Sub-Division of Berhampore) for justice. It is true that Mr. Pontet during his cold weather tour through the Damun-i-koh did something to redress petty grievances between Sonthal and Sonthal, settling disputes about land, division of property, &c., but he was powerless to redress the wrongs of the Sonthals against more powerful oppression and so they were left to the Bhaugulpore Courts for what they could get.

The distance the people had to go to Court, though an inconvenience, was not the material objection to their attending. But what was a semi-savage Sonthal to do when he reached the Court? He found a Magistrate surrounded by an almost impregnable barrier of Amlah, and Court scrupulously guarded from gratuitous entry by a horde of Peons and Burkundazes; and a set of Mooktears, representing the only medium through which he could hope for a hearing, who wish to sell him at any stage of his case if it proved worth their while; or who would decline to act for him altogether if he had not the wherewithal to pay his way—a way paved every inch with what to the poorer class is gold.

While the Sonthal saw justice in the shape of the Magistrate so far off and so terribly difficult of access, he found justice nearer home in the shape of the Darogahs and Thannah police, the au-



thorized agents of the distant Magistrate, but found it only to find it his bane, and to learn that his first object was to avoid not seek it.

What wonder then that the Sonthal, cut off from the fountain head of redress and avoiding as a pestilence the muddy polluted sources from it which reached him, should fall an easy victim to the cunning and oppression of the Bengalee Mahajun. He saw his crops, his cattle, even himself and family appropriated for a debt which ten times paid remained an incubus upon him still. He found his simple memorandum kept in knots upon a piece of string no match against the Mahajun's arithmetic supported by pen, ink and paper, and if he comprehended the gross injustice of the case he gained but little in an argument which was concluded by the Mahajun's peons summarily carrying off whatever they could lay their hands on, or by as effectual a process performed through the more legal but perhaps equally unjust agency of a Moonsiff's decree.

The Sonthal is patient enough, and to a regretful extent phlegmatic, but the worm will turn at last. For years he bore the oppression that robbed him of the produce of his labor, that took him and his family captives for debt and worked them in slavery, that respected not the honor of his wife and daughters, and then he rose against the tyranny and became a rebel. It is said that the Sonthals gave notice to the Commissioner and Magistrate of Bhaugulpore that unless their grievances were redressed they would rise; but be that as it may it came like a thunder-clap upon those who heard of it, that in the centre of Bengal there was rebellion; and that a race of people almost unheard, and certainly unthought of, were in arms, murdering and running riot through the land.

Kanoo and Seedoo, two brothers with two other less notorious brothers, became the leaders of this insurrection. They professed to act upon divine inspiration and were dubbed soobahs. They appointed their Naibs, Darogahs and other officers and proclaimed themselves masters of the country. So little was known of them, so well had they combined and so unanimous was the feeling among them, that the rebellion broke out and spread over the whole of the country, now known as the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and beyond into Monghyr and other parts of Bhaugulpore and Beerbhoom, before one note of preparation had reached the ears of any one not in the secret.

Their first act was to kill the Darogah of a Thannah near Rajmahal, and with the Darogah fell his Burkundazes. If report speaks truly the Darogah merited his end, and the Sonthals only took what to them was a legitimate revenge for dishonor

brought upon their women and oppression done to men and women alike. After the Darogah fell mahajuns, who closed by their deaths long standing accounts that had left the Sonthal life only, and then mad with long suppressed passions and the thirst of the blood they had tasted the Sonthals sought out and killed every one connected, as they thought, with their oppressors.

The first report that reached the Europeans in the neighbourhood was that large bands of Sonthals were marching about the country, killing and plundering, that they performed pooja in their villages, putting up a trophy consisting of a sheep skin, a bhursa (a battle axe) a drum—bow and arrow and fife, and then leaving the villages to take care of themselves went forth on their invasion; that a Darogah had been murdered and all villages not Sonthal plundered. This report was at first too vague and improbable to be relied on, but before those who listened to it dubiously had satisfied themselves whether a Sonthal was a particular caste of Hindoo or some sort of animal, there came corroboration in the shape of flying villagers, carrying with them all that they could move, pushing in frantic haste towards the Ganges to put the river between themselves and the rebels, ere long up to the station of Rajmahal and everywhere above the line of Railway from Rampore Haut to Colgong there came the ominous beating of the digdiggi or Sonthal drum.

The Magistrate of Bhagulpore and Mr. Pontet proceeded at once to Rajmahal where, taking up their quarters at the house of the District Engineer, they waited the arrival of troops. Rajmahal was threatened with an attack and rewards offered by the Sonthals for the head of Mr. Pontet, who had heretofore been styled by them their Raja, and other heads of less importance. The District Engineer with a few other Railway Engineers who fell back upon Rajmahal when their own houses had been burnt and plundered held the Sungidelan, which with the Ganges on one side and two large swivel guns commanding the front, defied the rebels until the troops arrived, and the rewards for the heads of Mr. Pontet and others were never disbursed.

On intimation reaching Bhaugulpore of the outbreak a detachment of the Hill Rangers was sent to Colgong. The commanding officer however could not march without the civil authority being in attendance—and consequently a party of 9 or 10 Railway officers went out to meet the Sonthals taking with them a large number of Burkundauzes and peons. The Sonthals gave fight; the Burkundazes whose tight girt loins and lofty threats had promised gallant conduct ran away; and a scrimmage took

place, in which 3 of the Europeans were wounded and 2 of their horses killed on one side while the rebels lost 8 or 9 killed and wounded, and from which the Europeans escaped with their lives, only because the Sonthals did not sufficiently speedily recover the check to follow them.

Two days after this the Hill Rangers came to the scene of this scrimmage, but only to be beaten off the field with the loss of a Serjeant Major and 10 or 12 sepoys and a European volunteer who accompanied them. Immediately after this the detachment returned to Bhaugulpore leaving the rebels masters of the position. For a short time the Sonthals continued in unchecked possession of the country from Colgong to Pulsa on the Ganges side and nearly to Beerbhoom and Raneegunge to the West. The first check they received was from Berhampore whence some Companies of the 7th N. I. under Mr. Toogood, the Magistrate, made a forced march on elephants, and reaching Mohespore, near Pulsa, unexpectedly came upon the rebels in a tank and inflicted a severe loss on them, taking nearly all their plunder.

Troops then poured in from all sides and the rebels fled in every direction never to rally again. Brigadier Loyd, who commanded, on one occasion hemmed the rebels in and could have inflicted the most disastrous loss upon them; but whether influenced by merciful orders from Government or inspired by the same influence that prompted him in the more recent emergency at Dinapore, he certainly allowed the opportunity to pass and the rebels escaped by dribblets—to be hunted like dogs and starve or die of disease until reduced to half their original number and to subjection.

A terrible vengeance attended the Sonthal for his rebellion—his house was burnt, his store of grain burnt in his house or plundered, the crops on his land destroyed or lost for want of attention to them, his flocks and herds scattered, seized, sold and plundered, and himself become an attenuated, half starved, miserable wretch, with only half his family left to him.

At this moment a Sonthal beggar is unknown, but after the rebellion hundreds in every direction sought charity where it was to be found, and it is only now that they are recovering the shock received from conflict with a Government of whose power and resources they never dreamt.

But with all this it is questionable whether the Sonthal has not benefited by the course he took. He fought for justice, and although the cost at the time was terrible and unthought of he has got it. The difficulties of seeking justice are swept away, he finds a Court where Amlahs only exist, as Amlahs should, to be machines obeying the will of the authority they serve, a



Court free of costs, presided over by a Hakim who is accessible at all hours; and where every man pleads his own case and stands equal before his adversary whatever their relative positions may be. The police who erstwhile persecuted him are swept away, and in his village the Sonthal is represented by his own race instead of some grasping harpy whose sympathies are with the Sonthal's foe and profit rather than with justice.

On the country becoming quiet after the rebellion the Sonthal Pergunnahs became a separate district,—extra regulation. Divided into 5 Divisions each under an Assistant Commissioner with a Sub-Assistant, the whole was made subordinate to a Deputy Commissioner, who in his turn was subordinate to the Commissioner of the Bhaugulpore Division as Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs. This arrangement still exists.

The Assistant Commissioners have generally full powers of a Magistrate and in civil matters try suits up to 1,000 Rs. in value. The Deputy Commissioner has the same powers but hears appeals from the orders of the Assistants, and the Commissioner has the same power in civil suits, but in criminal cases his powers extend to transportation for life. All capital sentences are referred to the Lieutenant-Governor and the Sudder. During the time of the late Lieutenant Governor capital sentence was passed by him without reference, but the present Lieutenant Governor, after a little sparring with the Sudder on the subject, maintained his point that the executive was not paramount in judicial matters and that the subject of life and death was one for the consideration of the highest Criminal Court of the country, and so the Sudder determines all sentences of death.

It may appear singular that the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs with powers in criminal matters so little restricted, should not have higher powers in civil matters. It cannot be that the liberty of a fellow creature for life is valued at less than any sum of money, even above a thousand Rupees, and yet so it would appear, and the anomaly is still more striking when it is remembered that the Commissioner has been a Judge, and was probably promoted for his merit. That the limitation to suits of 1,000 Rs. exists as an evil in the system of the Sonthal Pergunnahs that should be done away with is a question without doubt. Its existence causes confusion in jurisdiction between two systems as wide as under as the poles, and leads, or indeed opens a road, to discovery and evasion of justice. It may be that an Assistant Commissioner has not sufficient experience to decide civil cases with all the acumen of an experienced Judge, but there is a speedy and inexpensive appeal to a Com-

missioner who may be assumed to be a tolerable judge, and the result of such appeals will shew that of the orders passed in cases in which the evidence is taken direct by the hakim in his own language, on a judgment formed by him to the best of his ability\* and conscientiously, without any interference from the pen or tongue of a Sherishtadar or Amlah, such a proportion are upheld as would compare very creditably with the appeal returns of the Judges, Sudder Ameens and Moonsiffs of the Regulation Provinces. Another point to be considered is whether if the officers of the Sontal Pergunnahs are not allowed to try suits beyond 1,000 Rs. they should have the power of trying those below. The value of a case does not make it more difficult of decision. A case for 50 Rs. may possibly exhibit as much intricacy, and call for as much judgment, as one for Rs. 50,000, and above all it is to be remembered that a suit of Rs. 100 may be of as much vital importance to Ram Ghose a poor Gwala as one of lakhs would be to Ramkishto Roy, the proprietor of an estate as large as an English county. Why then should the wealthy litigant escape to a Court where his money cannot fail to aid him and where the poorer man cannot effectually follow, instead of being made subject to the jurisdiction of a Court which is held to be good enough for his lowlier brethren.

On the establishment of this system the Moonsiffs' Courts were at once abolished, but the Thannah Police maintained. But Mr. Yule, the present Commissioner, whose heart has been in the perfection of the system, knowing the police to be the obstacle to the attainment of justice and a thorough understanding between the hakim and the people direct, knowing them, as all do who have any experience on the subject, to be a body whose object it is to keep the authorities and the people equally in the dark, whose retainment would nullify all the good effects to be attained from a purified Court, met the difficulty as Alexander settled the Gordian knot and cut them with a stroke—not of his sword but his pen. In May 1858 the Thannah Police were abolished. The village chowkedars only being retained, the Darogahs, Mohurrirs, Jemadars, Pharidars and Burkundazes were discharged and the people were left to be their own guardians. It was a bold step to take in an age when the Thannah police is looked upon as an institution of the country and part and parcel of it; when every body, admitting it to be a curse, thinks it a necessary one, and can devise no means for improving or doing without it: but it was one well matured, it was one in which Mr. Yule had the fullest support of his subordinates, and it was one which success has guaranteed to have

been prudent and far-seeing beyond the anticipation of the most sanguine well-wishers.

It may be said that if desirable in the Sonthal Pergunnahs the abolition of the police must be equally to be desired elsewhere, and we think that few who know the police and have the opportunity of judging how successful the no-police system proves, would argue that a more extended trial of it is not advisable. It may be said that a police so severely punished for their oppression by the Sonthals and so closely watched by European officers, in the ratio of 1 officer to 3 Thannahs, might have been expected to keep in bounds; but one instance of many will suffice to shew how little the warning of a Sonthal's revenge and the close supervision of an active European officer tended to check the rapacity and peccancy of the police, and this instance we have from one well acquainted with the facts.

A Sonthal under trial for complicity in the rebellion escaped from Jail, and a reward of Rs. 100 was offered for his capture. An Engineer of the E. I. Railway who arrested several of the active members and murderers concerned in the rebellion, procured information of the fugitive's place of hiding and arrested him. A police Jemadar thirsting for the reward was also hot in pursuit, but being on the wrong scent went to the fugitive's village to arrest him at the very time that he was safely in keeping in the Engineer's camp. The family of the Sonthal unhappily were unaware that the capture had been made, and when the question came as to his place of concealment they met it with evasion or silence. It would not beseem the pages of this *Review* to say *what* the Jemadar did to the unhappy women he found in that family; but let the reader imagine every torture that the ingenuity of a demon could suggest—every insult to woman that lust could prompt—let him picture to himself bleeding, fainting women led off to incarceration, and further torture and insult in the Pharee—and he will have before him a correct although a faint representation of the guilty scene in which that Jemadar proved the excellence of the system of which he was a worthy though humble representative. The end of this drama is pleasanter in its character. The Engineer on his own authority and contrary to law, sent down his Burkundazes to the police station and released the captives, (one of whom however was *never found*) provided them with funds, and sent them with their witnesses and a letter describing the occurrence to the Assistant Commissioner of the Division, and the Jemadar was shortly afterwards sentenced by the Commissioner to 14 years' imprisonment with labor in irons.

Surely a police the members of which are such as this Jema-



dar are better swept away from the land ; and who will venture to say that this Jemadar checked fortuitously in his career was the solitary spot on the sun's disc, the very rare exception to the rule ? Does not experience tend contrariwise to prove that oppression in a greater or lesser degree is the rule ?

That the abolition of the police is a boon to the people cannot be denied, that it makes the duties of the Magistrate more satisfactory to himself, every officer who has tried it can say, and that without the Police the duties they were paid to perform are better performed by an unpaid community we will try to shew.

First then as to the repression of crime ; has crime increased in those districts where the non-police system has been introduced since the abolition of the police or not ? We have no general statistics to shew this result as far as concerns the whole of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, but we have (thanks to the courtesy of friends who are in a position to give them) statistics of portions of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and we may fairly infer that what is true for a large tract of the country is not very incorrect for all.

The statistics we have then shew that during the years 1856, '57 and '58, during which time the Police existed, taking an average of 4 murders and 43 dacoities, there were only 3 murders and 18 dacoities in 1859, when the Police had been abolished, and that the year just passed of 1860 exhibits a further decrease in both ; they also shew that a similar decrease has appeared in thefts with violence, wounding, and extensive thefts and burglaries.

So far then, as well as figures can guide us, it is proved that the people are capable of self-protection. We will next consider whether crime is better reported now than during the time of the Police.

On looking up our statistics again we find that in 1856 and 1857 to an average of  $41\frac{1}{2}$  dacoities the average of burglaries was 90, of thefts 131, and of other offences 94, or in other words, and taking rougher figures, there were 2 burglaries, 3 thefts, and two other offences to every dacoity. Now does this ratio seem probable, and viewing it in another light is it possible that among a people tolerably well governed, and with anything approaching to redress, there should be 6 felonies to 2 cases of personal injury ? In looking at the crimes reported in 1859 we find a very different result, the burglaries being as 15 to 1, the thefts as 21 to 1, and other offences 54 to 1. The felonies being 3 to 4 cases of personal injury.

We have not included the year 1858 in this comparison, because the police were only abolished in May of that year,

and the system of no-police in its transition was not so perfected as subsequent experience has made it.

From this comparison we must then draw the inference that the hakim is now made acquainted with much that was heretofore suppressed, and it is reasonable that this should be so. For under the present system while suppression of the report of crime is punished every inducement is held out to the heads of villages and Chowkedars to make a speedy report of every occurrence. The Chowkedar who comes to Court for this purpose is not detained, the occurrence is noted down by the hakim as it is described, and in trifling cases the prosecutors and heads of villages are left to take the necessary steps to bring the offender to justice. In cases brought to trial the prosecutor with his witnesses, defendants and everything required come up a complete case, and on their arrival are heard and dismissed without annoyance, detention or the most trifling expense.

In serious cases immediately on the occurrence being reported the hakim goes to the spot and makes the necessary local enquiry, but the enquiry is judiciously carried out, the villagers are not harassed to supply the hakim or a horde of myrmidons, no pressure is made to extort a false representation of facts, and the people, even if the case does not end in detection of the criminals, have not sustained an additional loss by a fruitless enquiry.

Contrast this with the conduct of a Darogah. On hearing of any occurrence, accompanied by a troop of Burkundazes and Mussaibs, Darogahjee lolling in his palkee is conveyed to the village where the occurrence happened, there, domiciled in the best house to be found, the great man rests his wearied limbs and hears with sufficient non-chalance the particulars of the case which he, a worthy scion of the Bow Street detective, has come to investigate. Then the wants of this imperial Nemesis must be attended to and, the capacity and delicacy of his capacious maw being considered, his exhausted system must be refreshed before he enters upon the business before him. His myrmidons meantime permeate the village, and the few inhabitants who have remained to face the invasive force give up their substance to feed the shadows of justice.

After some time the meal has been discussed and its contingent chillum has assisted digestion,—and then the case is heard in earnest. It is true that no clue exists to the offenders, they having perhaps got off unseen leaving no sign behind, and the property stolen is in all probability of such a nature as to defy recognition, but what of this? There are several Bourees, Dhuns and other low caste budmashes in the neighbourhood and will not they

do to make a satisfactory chellaun to the Magistrate? What was easier in times happily passed away than to get a confessing prisoner? Dhuns no more than Brahmins can stand a pressure of 50 pounds on the square inch when that square inch consists of the epidermis of the Dhun's chest, and the pressure falls upon his heart and crushes life out of his miserable low caste frame—and under some such pressure probably a confessing prisoner is procured—some property is found where the prisoner is led to point it out—and *voilà* a good case.

But not here ends the infliction on the villagers, there are fees to pay at every stage of the enquiry, fees to avoid the search of this man's house, fees to prevent the arrest of that man's wife, fees to buy immunity from every kind of oppression which are heavier and easier of realization in proportion to the respectability of the victims.

What wonder then that the villagers only reported to the Police such cases as must leak out and became known, and of a consequence that dacoities and murders were reported while burglaries and minor offences were not. But another reason tends to reconcile this discrepancy between dacoities and thefts, and this is that every Darogah naturally considers his character for vigilance at stake in the result of the cases he investigates. To report the occurrence of 50 thefts and only bring five to trial would in his opinion be to exhibit his own worthlessness, and infallibly prevent his rising to the 1st grade or mar the accomplishment of some dear dream of his heart (if a Darogah has such an organ.) And consequently the report of occurrences has to be ruled by the number of cases which by hook or crook he can concoct for the Magistrate.

It appears then that under the Police system there are two obstructions to the Magistrate's having crime fully reported, the greater that arising from the dread of the people reporting to the police in the first instance—the other that which occurs from the police reporting select cases only. But in the no-police system the latter of these has been, as coetaneous with the police, abolished with them—and the former has been, as we have shewn, removed by conciliatory and patient practice.

The only other question that remains is whether the necessary local enquiry in petty cases, the chellaun of prisoners and parties required, the production of unclaimed property and other duties of the police, are performed as well by the people as by the Darogah and his assistants, and this question may be briefly replied to by the assertion that they are better performed. The heads of villages conduct the search of houses for stolen property and the arrest of defendants with intelligence and moderation:



they despatch parties required and chellaun unclaimed property with regularity and promptitude, and they conduct the duties of a Darogah generally with more effect and infinitely more integrity than was the case under the old *regime*. In one department the improvement is very marked—this is the production in Court of any well to do man who is wanted against his will. The difficulties thrown in the way of the arrest of such a man by a Darogah are legion. As long as the desiree has the funds, he can purchase returns to the Magistrate's Perwannahs in which the Darogah laments his inability to catch the desiree who has gone to Benares, to Cabul, to Jericho, or anywhere else out of the Darogah's Thannah, and is consequently not to be found in spite of all the energetic exertions made for his capture by the Magistrate's slave and servant to command.

Of course there are a few exceptions to the rule, and among the heads of the community there are rascals just as among Darogahs there are honest men—but the exceptions are rare. The offenders are not sufficiently practised to err in safety and the hakim is too much master of the country in which his jurisdiction exists for wilful breach of the law or failure of the trust imposed to go unpunished.

As an instance in point of the service rendered by the people being superior to that of the paid police we may mention the capture and utter extinction of a gang of Paharea dacoits who had for nearly four years infested the country lying between the Tecoor and Phooljooree Hills in the South Western portion of the Sonthal Pergunnahs. These dacoits numbered some 30 to 40 Pahareas, men and women; they lived in the neighbourhood of Phooljooree and when pushed took refuge in that hill and its neighbour the Mahra hill, where pursuit was next to impossible. They had an almost equally inaccessible fastness in the Tecoor Hill and played between one and the other to the utter confusion of the police. These dacoits committed between 1855 and 1858 about 80 dacoities and gang robberies, two or three attended with arson, and five or six murders, and during the existence of the police only stray members of the gang were caught. But in July 1858 after the police had been abolished two months the people captured the leader and several of the gangs, and drove the rest out of that part of the country so completely that they have never revived.

So far the system conferred a double benefit on the people—it made Amla subordinate to the will of the hakim and it swept the police away altogether. But Mr. Yule whose conception, it is only fair to say, the system is, and to whom its success is

mainly attributable, went yet further in the course of amelioration of the condition of those under his rule.

A great step towards bettering the condition and raising the social standard of the lower orders was gained when Kumeoti was abolished formally. It is a subject of regret, and has been made matter for discussion in the House of Parliament, that in the Regulations there should exist no sufficient check on the traffic in and keeping of slaves. The latest act that has reference to the subject is Act V. of 1843, and this is purely a negative one—it provides no penalty for the sale, or hire, or other connection with slaves and slavery, but it gives the slave the privileges of a free man in Courts of justice—it rules that an injury done to him shall be treated in the same manner as though it had been done to a free man—and it ignores the right of the master in his slave in any of its Courts.

But in the Sontal Pergunnahs the Kumeoti system was actively discountenanced. The bonds by which they were bound were held invalid and every one filed in Court was cancelled and declared null and void. In a short time Kumeoti died out and free labour with fair wages was substituted.

It may be as well to go more fully into the Kumeoti question to prove how just and righteous was the step that put a stop to it. A Kumea was a man in needy circumstances who bound himself and family down by a bond to serve until he paid the sum due upon this instrument. Perhaps a poor man had occasion for a few rupees to marry his daughter, he went to the mahajun and asked for the loan, the mahajun gave the money, 10 or 15 rupees, but like Shylock insisted upon flesh in his bond, and the needy borrower, with the wonted apathy of his race, sold himself and family for the few pieces of silver that would be gone beyond redemption in a few days. From that time he was a slave, neither he nor his family knew what liberty was—they could not cultivate or improve their condition by their own industry for that industry was pledged to another who claimed it whenever it was necessary to him and could have been of service to them, and this labor was taken as interest for the money due upon the bond. It is true that the Kumea was fed when he worked—but who was to feed him when he did not, and whence was to come the principal due to his owner, the payment of which only could release him from his bondage.

As a matter of course the Kumea, not having cultivation or any certain means of livelihood, supported himself by theft when not in the actual employ of his owner, and theft was not sufficiently profitable to a man who stole for food—the actual neces-

saries of life for his family and himself—to admit of his saving the sum that was required to clear him.

If the yoke galled him so severely that he rebelled the master was master still, he had the bond the principal of which was yet unsatisfied, and on this he sued in Court and obtained a decree. The execution of this decree soon brought the slave to kneel again and plead that the yoke might be put upon his neck once more, for as he had no property, the only option left him was between imprisonment in his master's service or imprisonment in the Civil Jail, and with all the terrors of the latter which the master's subtle tongue could instil in his mind, the Kumea naturally chose the former.

But when it became known that the bonds on which the Kumeas were held were pieces of waste paper, to file which was only to cause their destruction, the Kumeas asserted their right to liberty; and working on the Railroad and, with more liberal wages, for their old employers, with their time at their own command, to give to their own patch of land and other affairs, instead of being claimable at all seasons by a hard task master whose purpose it was to keep the Kumea a slave for ever, in the course of time they rose to a feeling of independence and self-reliance which their improved circumstances will retain them in against all the masters in the world.

The last great and substantial benefit the active care of Mr. Yule could confer upon the people was the introduction of his Civil procedure rules and abolition of imprisonment for debt.

The Civil procedure rules are so admirable for the comprehensiveness embodied in so little space that, without commenting upon them generally, it will perhaps not be out of place to give some idea of what they are as a whole reserving special remarks for one or two points.

The Rules are 33 in number, they occupy a little more than 7 pages of foolscap in print.

Rule 1—is, that all claims shall be preferred *vivâ voce*, the whole record and every order passed in the case being written by the Hakim in English, a claim being only made by proxy when the Plaintiff is a *purda nusheen* woman, a native of rank, or any one of respectability not resident in the Sonthal Pergunnahs.

Rule 2—provides penalties for false suits and evidence.

Rule 3—directs that all documents shall be produced when a claim is brought.

Rules 4, 5 and 6—shew the mode of procedure with the suit.



- Rule 7—how the decision is to be written in English and explained to both parties, copies being claimable by either.
- Rule 8—costs shall be paid by the party by whose act or omission they were incurred.
- Rule 9—arbitration.
- Rule 10—service of summons on Defendant.
- Rule 11—on production of witnesses.
- Rule 12—comprehensively disposes of the subject of subsistence allowance payable by parties to their witnesses and the course to be adopted if either party fail to pay.
- Rule 13—gives the rate at which peadas are to be paid i. e.  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna per coss and 3 annas for an extra day allowed for serving process.—One or more extra days allowed if Defendants and witnesses reside in different villages, and only 3 annas allowed if the process is served within 3 coss of the Hakim's Cutcherry, the peadas not being allowed to bring in any parties.
- Rule 14—prescribes the penalty for non-service of notice by a Plaintiff.
- Rule 15—directs that security shall not be demanded from Defendant during progress of suit, but the Hakim may, if he sees reason, direct the village authorities to prevent a Defendant making away with his property until the suit against him is decided.
- Rules 16, 17 and 18—clearly and definitely lay down the rules on the subject of distraint and Rule 19 the punishment for distraint without cause (Vejai Koo-shi) or forcible or other illegal removal of distrainted crops.
- Rule 20—relates to execution of decrees for less than Rs. 50 of which rule and those concerning execution that follow, more hereafter.
- Rule 21—directs how claims by a third party to attached property are to be disposed of and the penalty to be avoided for a false claim.
- Rules 22 to 27—are on the subject of execution of Decrees.
- Rule 28—"imprisonment for debt is altogether abolished."
- Rule 29—relates to transfer of property and what punishment is to be awarded for fraudulent transfer.
- Rule 30—to an insolvent debtor's release for Sonthals.
- Rules 31 and 32—lay down the course to be adopted in sales

held in execution and the time and manner of paying the proceeds to decree-holders.

Rule 33—directs that the officers of the Sontal Pergunnahs shall be guided by the spirit of these rules in all contingencies not actually provided for.

The last rule however is almost superfluous, so comprehensive is the code; so much to the point is disposed of in a few graphic words and so intelligible is the whole, that there is almost nothing left to be supplied by parity of reasoning.

Of these rules probably No. 28, which is given word for word, was the most effectual for good. The Mahajun now having taken most of his debtor's property cannot take his liberty also. The family of the prisoner are not driven to beg, borrow or steal, probably the last, the wherewithal to release their captive relative; and a system of imprisonment, strongly resembling the *lettre de cachet* of the Capet rule, by which the wealthy native broke the spirit of the poor man who opposed him, is gone for ever.

There was a great outcry among the Mahajuns when this rule became law, and the Civil Jail being pulled down, the prisoners were released. It was said that all credit must cease, that no one was to be trusted when the Civil Jail could not be held *in terrorem* on him, and that, considering this and the lenient rules prescribed for sale of property in execution of decrees, it would be useless seeking to recover through the Courts. But experience has shewn the fallacy of this; credit still exists, and if with more discrimination so much the better, the Mahajun's money and grain do not lie idle, and the Courts where redress was said to be inaccessible are filled with suitors on the civil side.

So also was it said that Mooktears not being allowed to institute and plead in suits would be felt as a hardship and keep back many respectable(?) men from Court. But the respectable portion of the community has adapted itself to circumstances, unless it is to be announced that when everybody comes to Court there is no respectability, and the increasing shew of work of the civil file proves that justice is not despaired of even by those whose advantages are most curtailed by the existing procedure.

We have no exact figures to illustrate what we have stated, but taking approximate ones, which may be considered not very far wrong, the Civil file of the years 1857, 1858, and 1859 have shewn 800, 1000 and 2400 cases respectively, and no stronger argument could be adduced to prove that the system equally protects the creditor and debtor.

The rules with regard to execution of decrees also afford great relief to the poor man. Decrees are not allowed to be held for years, their amount accumulating by interest : terrible instruments of scourge to the debtor. Decrees for less than Rs. 50 for money, delivery of goods, performance of contract or transfer of personal property, unless some settlement approved of by the Hakim be made, shall be executed at once : if no property be found it shall be struck off the file, the decree-holder being allowed to take out execution at any other time within 6 years, provided that if there is a return of no property to three successive orders of attachment the decree shall be become void. All such decrees become *ipso facto* paid after 6 years.

If the decree-holder shews reason why a decree of this nature should not be executed as prescribed he may execute it any time within six years, it being provided however that interest does not accrue during such time. Execution of other decrees must be taken out within a year unless sufficient reason be shewn for neglecting to do so, and if execution is not so taken out suit does not accrue in other respects the same rules apply to these decrees as to those above mentioned. Thus there is relief for the debtor in every way. The decree against him is speedily disposed of. The amount of that decree does not increase by interest till it overwhelms him, there is a moderate limit to its duration, and if he be in such impoverished circumstances that three fruitless attempts at attachment are made, he is released altogether.

That the debtor by making away with his property by transfer or otherwise shall ensure three fruitless attachments and so defraud the creditor, is provided against by the rules prescribing penalties for such offences, and the creditor has full protection and assistance in realizing his decree when there is property to realize it from. But the property attachable in execution of decree is so limited that the debtor shall not be sent forth naked upon the world, creditless and bereft of hope. Kutcha houses, agricultural implements, plough cattle to the extent of three pairs, the grain required for seed, and for the consumption of the family till next crop, and the necessary metal cooking and water-pots of cultivators; the tools or instruments of the artisan, the fisherman's boats and nets, the carter's cart and bullocks, in fine those properties by which the debtor earns his livelihood, all are declared not liable to attachment except in realization of penalties prescribed in these rules.

By this rule the roof is preserved above the head of the debtor and he is not cast forth shelterless, the provision for his family till next crop is spared that he may not be driven by hunger



and the pleadings of his children's starving cries to crime, and his means of livelihood are saved to him that he may recover his position and not be thrown out of his natural employment to become a useless criminal burden on society.

The whole system of administration smacks more of that fraternity of character which the Government is supposed to assume than any other. The Hakim is of, as well as over, the people, he descends from the bench to the level of the people before him, and, without loss of dignity to himself, reasons to them, argues with them, and learns more of them than any officer in a Regulation province can hope to do. By these means he gets a knowledge of things as they really exist and by his influence succeeds in arranging differences, soothing recalcitrant factions, softening obdurate creditors and bringing evasive debtors to book in a manner that as a judicial officer simply he could not hope to do.

The absence of all interference on the part of amlah effectually adds to the influence of the Hakim. Sitting in a room apart the amlahs are only employed in writing perwannahs, processes, &c., from recorded English instructions translated to them by an English writer. There is no room for writing even a perwannah to the order of some suitor, for its nature has been placed on record in English, and the power of the amlah to miswrite and misread evidence, to alter the record or interfere with the case in any way, is gone.

There is a direct hearing, a speedy termination to the suit, and an equally expeditious appeal. And of 100 civil suits decided 50 at least are decided by the lower and appellate Courts, and, if decreed, execution is completed by the time that such suits in a Regulation Court would have been half completed in the Court of first instance; and this at so trivial cost that, let the case go how it may, neither party is a sufferer. There are no costs for stamps, and although peadas are mentioned in the Civil procedure their employment is only exceptional, the parties themselves in almost every instance serving their own processes, and thus the expense of a suit is limited to the diet of witnesses, and the average amount of costs may be about 12 annas or a rupee. So much for legitimate expenses, and we have shewn that fees to amlah and other costs of the kind not taxable do not exist.

Of course it has been argued that such a system answers very well for a simple people like the Sonthals, although with other races it would prove a total failure, but it must be remembered that of the population of the Sonthal Pergunnahs probably one-third only are Sonthals, and that the remaining two-thirds of every class and creed, number among them some of

the most difficult and litigious characters that the Courts could have to deal with, and this average of one-third Sonthals applies to the whole district of the Sonthal Pergunnahs. Let it be seen whether in that portion of it where the average is reduced to one-sixth or less the success of the system is greater or less.

As far as the Sonthals are concerned, as long as protection from oppression is afforded them, they trouble the Courts very little; crime among them, now that witch murder has been successfully suppressed, is little known, and as long as the landlord and Mahajun take their dues only the Sonthals pay up so regularly that application to the civil Courts is seldom necessary. The Courts are consequently mainly occupied in business concerning other classes.

Having disposed of the history of the Sonthal Pergunnahs and given some idea of its administration, we may proceed to say something of the people from whom the district derives its name.

The Sonthals have always been known for their simplicity, and until the rebellion had the character of great patience and kindness of heart. That they are simple, truth telling, patient and kind of heart still applies to them in spite of their conduct in the "hool." They are also honest and ingenuous, but they are reserved and phlegmatic to a degree. "Leave me alone and I will leave you" would appear to be the Sonthal's axiom to people not of his own race, and so it comes about that, living mixed up together, the Sonthal is an enigma to the rest of the population who in their turn are objects of distrust and contempt to the Sonthal.

The religion of the Sonthal is peculiar to himself. He believes in the existence of an all prevailing deity called "Chanda-boonga," but his devotions to this deity are few and far between, consisting in the sacrifice of a goat once in 3 or 5 years as the case may be, and strange to say always on a Sunday. This sacrifice is not attended with any great ceremony, the Sonthal standing on one leg holds the goat under his arm and calls on Chandaboonga to whom he turns his eyes heavenward, and having done so kills the goat and eats it. The great poojahs attended with tamasha and feastings are those of the 4 wood gods, the Dryads of the Sonthal's mythology. These 4 are called "Jaihirira," "Monikoh," "Marungbooroo" and "Gosaicera." They are four stones buried in a clump of trees called the "jairthan" and no Sonthal village can be settled till the "jairthan" is established. The feeling of the Sonthal appears to be that these 4 deities are familiar spirits like the Lares and Penates of the Roman, and very convenient for

poojah which affords an excuse for revelry and eating and drinking.

There is one other familiar deity whose name is Manjeecharam. This, in the shape of a stone, lies buried in a small open shed about 6 feet square in some central part of the village, and there assemble the punchaiyuts to have what the Sonthals call a "booj." This shed is known to others than Sonthals as the Boodathan, and Manjeecharam is irreverently called Booda Manjee, which being rendered means Old Sonthal, a Manjec and Sonthal being synonymous.

The Sonthal, reserved as he is to outsiders, likes a large gathering of his own people as well as anything. In the months of April and May when nature is parched and dried up, the trees leafless, and the grass and under growth burnt, the great Shikar parties of the Sonthals assemble for their "Seudra." 2,000 to 4,000 Sonthals collect with hunting dogs, drums, bows and arrows and sticks and encircle a large tract of jungle, then beating in a circle, the circumference of which rapidly decreases, they drive in the game to a central point, and when the birds and animals find out their position and attempt escape, sticks, arrows and dogs are let loose at them until all have run the gauntlet and escaped or been killed. Tigers are generally allowed to make a dignified retreat unmolested; sometimes a similar license is given to leopards and bears, but wild pig, deer, hares, pea fowl, jungle fowl, partridge, foxes, civet cats and vermin generally are mobbed, and if possible killed. It must not be supposed that the Sonthal kills the fox or civet cat from mere wantoning for he does it to eat, all being flesh that comes to his lot, nor must it be thought that he lets the tiger, leopard and bear go because he does not consider them edible, on the contrary he eats them all, and esteems the flesh of the tiger as a great delicacy because it is crisp and has more body in it than more legitimate meat. For which reason perhaps his most solemn oath is taken while touching a tiger skin.

The Sonthal dances cause the collection of a large number of people, men and women both joining in the nautch, which is as peculiar to the people as anything else about them. The principal dance requires a large *corps de ballet*; a hundred to two hundred women hand by hand form a ring, about half that number of men make an inner circle and, playing their drums and fifes to a wild and gloomily exciting monotonous air, go round one way while the outer circle of fair ones goes the other. The men simply step to time without much action, but the women drum their heels and toes in a slow time double shuffle, bend their bodies forward to a half-kneeling position, as though



paying homage to the men, and so bending and raising their bodies to time, always double shuffling, they by an imperceptible progressive movement sideways go round and round as long as the music lasts. The strictness with which time is kept and the originality of the dances make it worth seeing, but as it lasts rather longer than two ordinary ballets the non-performing spectator (not being a Sonthal) wearies of it. The other dances of the Sonthals are similar in character. Peacocks' feathers enter largely into the paraphernalia required for some, and drums, the digdiggis of the Sonthal, are paramount in all.

The marriages of the Sonthals are contracted in a sensible manner, a man and woman like each other and having no doubts about their income admitting of the step they marry, very much in the same fashion as obtains among civilised nations. But in the matter of divorce they long anticipated the divorce and matrimonial court presided over by Sir Cresswell Cresswell, for man and wife having found out that they were not suited to each other a punchaiyut, after a little booj, releases them from the fetters in which, the roses having faded and fallen to pieces, only the thorns remain.

On a Sonthal dying the body is burnt and a small portion of the ashes is taken, when convenient to his relatives, to the Damooda, the Sonthal's sacred river known by him as the Nai, into which it is thrown.

With a people so truthful and free of all caste prejudice as the Sonthals, with a religion so primitive and little invested with the mythical network that holds the Hindoo captive, it is palpable that a Mission thoroughly supported and encouraged would rapidly effect the conversion of thousands. It is true that the Bhaugulpore Mission has gone the right way to work and done much towards this good cause, but that Mission has only local support and is not recognized by Government or at any rate is not greatly encouraged, and the labours of two or three worthy men in such a Herculean task must make it a work of a weary, weary time. The last report of this Mission shews that there are eleven schools in the Damun-i-kooch or its neighbourhood, attended by above 300 boys. As yet the instruction of these boys chiefly tends to prepare their minds for the reception of the great truths they have yet to learn. The more advanced read the gospels and all learn Bible passages, the Ten Commandments and Christian Hymns in Hindi. There can be no doubt that many of these 300 will be converted, and if the funds of the Mission were larger and the members for the performance of its work more numerous the 13 schools might be increased

tenfold and the number of those led into the proper path might be told by thousands instead of hundreds.

The Sonthals thoroughly appreciate the education given to their children, and would not exhibit any opposition to their conversion. In one instance a Pergunnait (or headman of several villages) asked one of the Missionaries to procure an order from the Assistant Commissioner that all fathers *who neglected to send their boys to the school should be fined*.

There is one observation in this Mission report that we cannot endorse, the writer says "that the Sonthals in the 'Damoon through better administration are placed in such favorable circumstances, that, for some time to come, it will be difficult to make them understand that they are badly off without schools, and miserable without the gospel, and consequently that schools and Mission work will prove more successful elsewhere.'" But it seems to us that the better the government and the more improved the condition of the people governed, the better inclined will the people be to adopt the religion of their governors.

Besides the Sonthals the only other people in the Sonthal Pergunnah calling for special notice are the Pahareas. These people are divided into two tribes, the Pahareas who live in the Rajmahal range of hills, and the Naiga Pahareas who live in the plains west of Rajmahal.

Of these the former live by what crops of Indian corn and grain they can rear on the table land and slopes of the hills, and for all other necessities they barter the hill bamboos, grass and timber which grow in luxuriant profusion in every direction. In religion they are supposed to be Hindoos, in character they are peculiar for nothing unless it be lying and drunkenness. The Bhaugulpore Hill Rangers is principally composed of this people, and besides the pensions received by some as retired veterans of this distinguished corps, many receive pensions, settled by Cleveland many years ago, for the safe keeping of the ghats in the hills and ensurance of safety from raid and plunder in the plains—a species of black mail in short paid to these hill men to keep them quiet in their hills.

The Naiga Poojhurs are very much like their hill brethren in religion, perhaps they have rather less of it, and make up the deficiency by increased cleptomania, drunkenness and dirtiness. They have not the advantage of right of forest in a long range of well wooded hills and consequently are worse off and more readily driven to brigandage to supply their wants.

Both tribes of Pahareas are low indeed in the social scale, as are many of the lower orders of Hindoos in Sonthal Pergunnahs.

The Coles, Mussohurs and others among the Hindoos, are far beneath the Sonthal in intelligence and position, and for all of these people who are free from caste prejudices and ignorant of religion a Mission might do much.

The Sonthals and Pahareas being deducted about one-half of the people of the Sonthal Pergunnahs are accounted for, the remaining half are principally Hindoos of every degree from the Brahmin downwards—the few Mussulmans living here and there complete the tale.

At present the officers of the Sonthal Pergunnahs are short-handed, and additional assistants are required. Two or three divisions have no sub-assistants : and all the officers are overworked. From 8 to 10 hours a day, and sometimes more, is too much for most men when the *pen* has to be employed as well as the brain *all* the time ; and what with the records in cases, decisions, books of occurrences and registers of various kinds that the Hakim has to keep in his own writing, less than 8 or 10 hours a day would not accomplish the work in some divisions.

If the revenue of the Sonthal Pergunnahs is such as not to afford an expensive establishment and yield a profit, surely loss of good administration should not be the consequence of its poverty, and if a comparison of expense be made between any regulation district and an equal extent of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, even allowing twice as many officers as now exist in the latter, the economy will remain with the Sonthal Pergunnahs. The comparison of expense of the Beerbhoom District and the Deoghur Division of the Sonthal Pergunnahs would show that the latter does not cost more than 1-7th of the former, and for a tract of country half as large again and for the most part equally populated.

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## CRITICAL NOTICES

OF

### WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST PUBLISHED DURING THE QUARTER.

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*Poems and Parodies on Current Topics of the Day, 1858-59, by Illtus Thomas Prichard. Republished from the Delhi Gazette. Calcutta. Thacker, Spink and Co. 1860.*

THE impossibility of uniting poetry with political opinions has been proved in all the attempts that have been made, from Tennyson's *Maud* down to Mr. Prichard's "*Poems and Parodies.*" The volume in question consists of nineteen pieces, contained in the brief space of thirty-nine small pages, on current topics during 1858-59. The author reprints these poems from the *Delhi Gazette* of which he is Editor, and dedicates them to the memory of the defunct Bengal Army in which he was once an officer. Like all great writers he launches forth his book into the world without any prefatory remarks, so confident in its inherent excellence that though the poems have already passed through the columns of his journal, and refer to passing topics which even now are almost forgotten, he considers them none the worse of being twice-told. Whatever may be Mr. Prichard's other literary talents, he certainly possesses the faculty of writing parodies very faithful to the original as far as rhythm goes. He is not so successful in maintaining that spirit of mock solemnity which amuses by its hidden flicker of wit rather than by any broad and literal meaning. The more serious the original the more cutting or witty should be the travesty. This is the secret of the irresistible nature of some of those puns that are founded on passages of Scripture. Our minds are pre-occupied with something serious, and when the analogy between this and something commonplace is put in a ludicrous light, the marked contrast has an immediate effect on our imagination. The subject from which the

parody is taken is not necessarily brought into ridicule ; the true object of its satire is the one immediately referred to. A parody should not be a mere imitation of words, but the whole original should be mirrored in it inverted. There should be a direct connection between the two sets of ideas. Every one will recollect the story of Thomson's tragedy when acted in a London Theatre. Like his other poems, though in a greater degree, it was occasionally pedantic and sentimental, and when the hero uttered the words

O Sophonisba, Sophonisba O !

A wag in the gallery, imitating the tone of voice, cried

O Jimmie Tamson, Jimmie Tamson O !

The ludicrous effect of this consists in the connection of ideas as well as in the mere resemblance of sounds. This point our author very frequently forgets. In imitation of Gray he writes an elegy on the Defunct Honourable Court of Directors :—

“The General Orders sing of parting fray,  
The wearied columns to their quarters glide,  
John Lawrence homeward wends his willing way,  
And India leaves to Canning and to Clyde.”

This is good so far, but the next verse is weak :—

“Now fade the glimmering embers of revolt  
And India feels a feverish repose,  
Save where the rebels from our soldiers' bolt,  
And Tanteea lurks disguised in Bunneeah's clothes.”

Then follow verses still more doggerel :—

Save that from every corner of the land  
The carping press does to the world complain  
Of him who gagged it with unsparing hand,  
And sorely longs to gag it all again.

In that great house where Leadenhall Magnate  
Was wont to meet his Peers in council deep,  
Each in his little room, disconsolate,  
The Ex-Directors o'er their fortunes weep.

The last verse is triumphant :—

Upon the India House the State relies,  
And mid the ruins seeks its aid t'attain,



E'en the old Court to life begins to rise,  
And in the Indian Council lives again.

The eulogy of the Levies, whether looked upon as an imitation or not, is happily executed.

Then let the Europeans go,  
For we've a force not much below  
A hundred thousand men or so.

In Levies.

And when rebellion's burning brand  
Again glares o'er this bloodstained land,  
Who'll join—all ready—heart and hand?

The Levies.

As an example of Mr. Prichard's rhythmic power we select the following verse from the Ode composed on the occasion of the entry of the Waffadars into Phillore :—

AIR—*'Tis the March of the Cameron Men.*

THERE'S many a man of the Poorbea Clan  
That are marching to-day to Phillore,  
Who has sworn to be true, and to mutiny too,  
For a pandy he cannot do more.

CHORUS.—*By the Brigadier, Brigade Major  
and Officers of the Waffadars.*

I hear the Bum Bum sounding, sounding  
From the throats of the black sons of—Mars,  
While time-keeping footsteps are raising the dust—  
'Tis the march of the staunch Waffadars.

The *Taj and its Minaret*, written on the occasion of Lord Clyde's visit to the Taj, in March 1859, is rather amusing when we recover from the effects of the clumsy first verse :—

THE sky was clear, the stars shone bright,  
The moon had begun to set,  
This conversation I heard one night  
'Twixt the Taj and a Minaret.  
The Minaret's voice was small and choice,  
And rather weak than strong,  
But as for the Taj's it shook the very arches  
And sounded like a Chinese gong.

At the last verse the author cannot forget what is his great mission in this world. He represents the Taj saying, we presume in that voice which sounded like a Chinese gong, but which in this instance bears a strong resemblance to a trumpet :—

But there's one consolation and hope for the nation,  
From a source which I venture to get,  
And I mean to say that the only mainstay,  
Of the country's the *Delhi Gazette*.

When Lord and Lady Canning visited the Taj in December 1859, and a grand supper was given by the residents of Agra to 200 guests, the Taj and Minaret felt constrained to resume their musings upon the state of affairs :—

TAJ.

Such gross profanation !

MINARET.

Oh such desecration !

Do you know my mind sorely inclines  
To let fly my cupola smash in the soup *a la*  
*Mode*, and the viands and wines.  
All the week I've been worried—so startled and flurried  
With firing, that I'm all of a quaking :  
So badly they serve us—I am growing quite nervous,  
In fact I de—cl—are I am sh—shaking."

CHORUS. Shaking—aking.

Mr. Prichard tries epigrams too, but if the following on Yeh, whose remains were sent to China preserved in brine, be his best, we have had enough of them.

When Celestial Yeh to death fell a prey,  
For life like our fortune is fickle,  
Illustrious Canning, celebrity planning,  
Put his glorious guest into pickle.

The author's *chef d'œuvre* he has reserved to the last. This is no parody ; it is not intended like the others to be set to music ; it is an epic poem on the Lahore catastrophe, when the Government of India was shaken to its centre. We select three out of its six verses ;—

The elephants snorted and trumpeted loud,  
They wriggled and stamped, and they charged through the crowd ;  
Whirr whirr went the rockets,—they turned them about, }  
Regardless of handspike, bamboo, or mahout, }  
And pell mell they fled in a regular rout—  
There was crashing, and dashing, a *melée* of trunks,  
Some shrieking, some swearing, and all in the funks—  
Cries a rider in accents, all broken from jolting,  
" Make way ! 'tis Lord Canning !—my elephant's bolting."  
Oh, the Lahore fireworks,  
Oh, the Lahore fireworks !

Quoth Beadon, " You beast ! can't you cease your gyrations ?  
An elephant dancing's against ' Regulations '"—  
But Bowring's to fire had such an aversion,  
Neither Arabic, Turkish, Punjabee nor Persian,

Adjectives, expletives, and last, though not least,  
 Adjurations in Sanscrit affected the beast ;  
 While charging along at full speed "Drat the flummery,"  
 In accents of woe quoth Sir Robert Montgomery.  
     Oh, the Lahore fireworks,  
     Oh, the Lahore fireworks !

One lady got jammed in the street, and Lord Clyde,  
 Full of chivalry, went up to help her, and tried—  
 'Twas all unavailing, so he called out to Becher,  
 "Mon, gie us a hand, by my saul I can't reach her—"  
 Some stuck in the trees, and some fell in the beds  
 Of the nullahs, but luckily pitched on their heads ;  
 Some took to the jungles and some to the city,  
 Some weren't found the next day, and some were—more's the pity.  
     Oh, the Lahore fireworks,  
     Oh, the Lahore fireworks !

After all it is only a very low order of talent that is requisite for writing such poems. They are amusing when the incidents to which they refer are fresh in the mind, but when any explanation is necessary to their appreciation they lose their effect like explained jokes. A taste for light insipid writing, interspersed with oaths and slang, is growing in India, as the correspondence of some of the country journals and some of the books published in India testify. The volume under review is pretty free from these defects, but it will be understood by only a small circle of Anglo-Indian readers.

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1. *Thuggee and Dacoity : Bombay Records. No. 1. New Series.*
  2. *Administration Reports. 1858-59.*

MORE than thirty years have passed since the days when all who travelled in India beyond the limits of the large cities and their suburbs, were liable to be robbed, and killed by Thugs, so quietly that their fate could never be learned. Infinitely worse than the banditti of Spain, these wretches added every possible cruelty to the perpetration of their dark crimes. The prevalence of the horrid system engendered a feeling of suspicion which was as natural in its origin as it was evil in its results. The native traveller, for Europeans were very rarely attacked, could never tell whether his guide, his servant or his fellow traveller might not take the first favourable opportunity of running the assassin's dagger into his heart, or of ending his existence by the more subtle



agency of poison. To cope with the evils of Thuggee the ordinary Magistrates and Police were unable ; and it was found necessary to establish a separate detective force, composed partly of men who had incurred the penalty of death and whose lives were spared on condition that they should render faithful service to the Government. Since the establishment of these " approvers," as they were called, under the command of Colonel Sleeman and his successors, the Thugs have gradually disappeared, until they can now be scarcely said to exist as a professional, organised body. Not so successful, however, have been the efforts made to suppress Dacoity. This system was far more widely spread, and was kept up with equal secrecy. At the present day though plunder is supposed to be the chief pursuit of Dacoits, the criminal returns of the various provinces shew that it is not unfrequently accompanied by murder. The difference between Thugs and Dacoits is that the former have no other occupation than secret robbery and murder, and the latter carry on their depredations under the cover of other pursuits. The objects they both have in view are so similar that the system may be looked upon as one. The agents appointed for its suppression are invested with special powers for the carrying out of their work. They are amenable to no other authority than the Supreme Government. Persons committed by them must be tried by whatever Judge they are brought before ; and by a special law, they are enabled to inflict the penalties of Thuggee and Dacoity on any man who is convicted of having " belonged to a gang of professional Thugs or Dacoits," without reference to his being guilty of any specific crime. The detectives patrol the country in parties, and collect information of the movements of dacoits by the confessions of those who are convicted and turn approvers. The first gang through whom valuable information was obtained were kept for seven years before they could be induced to confess. In 1856, fifty-nine Thugs and twenty six Dacoits were arrested in the Punjab, and in Etawah sixty two dacoits. The Meenahs were a tribe greatly given to this species of robbery and in the same year sixty-six of them were captured, and seventy more were pointed out by the approvers. They first took to dacoity in the famine of 1833. Poverty, distress, and hunger are strong incentives to crime and would appear in this instance to have originated a tribe of marauders ; but in most other instances the dacoits have inherited their profession from their

ancestors ; some declare that they never were anything else than wanderers. Another class of men called Bhars, are professional coiners, who make their living by uttering false coin, or by inducing rich, avaricious natives to pay a certain sum of money for some imaginary treasure which they pretend to have found buried in the earth. The wandering tribes of the Southern Maratha country, reported on by Captain Hervey in 1848, are nearly seventy in number. They are addicted to crimes of all sorts, and they outwardly profess to be traders, artificers, &c. Such secret depredations are far more difficult to put down than the open forays which brought the British armies down upon the Pindarrees in the Marquis of Hastings' time.

We have reason to congratulate ourselves at the decline of Thuggee and Dacoity in all parts of India and particularly in Bengal, and at the efficiency of those officers who have succeeded so well in their detective services. Whatever may be the dilatoriness of our Government the men to whom important duties are entrusted and are left to their own resources in discharging them have usually been found equal to them. In 1852 five hundred and twenty cases of dacoity occurred in Bengal, while in 1858 the number was only one hundred and thirty-five. The largest number occurred in Moorshedabad, where 2301 persons were registered as dacoits and 67 arrested during the year 1858. Next comes Hooghly, where the actual number of cases was 27 against 136 in 1852. The proportionate decrease is twice as great as in Moorshedabad. In Bombay 254 dacoits were transported for life during 1858, against 126 in 1857. The number sentenced to term imprisonment was 108 against 20 in 1857. In the North West Provinces 1857 were arrested of whom 283 were convicted. The dacoits particularly infested the Benares division, where a number of soldiers from regiments that had mutinied betook themselves to this mode of life.

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*The Poetry of our Indian Poets, edited by Thomas Philip Manuel.*  
Nos. 1 and 2. Calcutta. 1860.

THE design of Mr. Manuel is to collect into one gallery all the Anglo-Indian poets he can find, without respect to chronology—and we fear merit ; thus in the numbers before us we meet Heber, Calder Campbell,

and Miss Roberts placed side by side with Mrs. Carshore and her no more gifted sister in inspiration—Mrs. Lock. We think Mr. Manuel has made a serious mistake in including these two lady rhymesters in his list, inasmuch as the friendliest reviewer would fail to prove them ever endowed with one single poetic ray of inspiration. As yet Calder Campbell is the most thorough poet treated of in the Serial ; but many delightful fugitive pieces of his, still reverberating in our memory, seem to be omitted in the selection before us, and others of inferior stamp substituted. As a matter of course the amiable Heber's "Evening Walk in Bengal" is chosen as a representative poem, but Mr. Manuel has not found fault with the outrageous allusions it contains to "the Moslem's savoury supper" or "The jackals cry resounding like sylvan revelry." We should feel thankful to the reviewer of Calder Campbell's poetical writings if he would kindly interpret the meaning of those particular verses which he has italicised, and which he says could only have been written by a poet who had studied nature deeply, and felt its religious workings and power over the human mind. For instance the following from "Flashes through the Clouds."

"When the short transport of exempted pain  
Fills me with strange wild joy as wine might do,  
I cannot answer for the buoyant strain  
Of merriment that pierces through and through,  
The echoing woods, whose loneliness in vain  
Startles me with its hue."

Of what hue or color is a buoyant strain ?

Again :—

"Can these by any reasoning be brought  
To quell the ebullient stir that through me flows  
Like leaping draughts of pleasure, which have caught  
Hues of the sun and rose ?"

These extracts are fully as unintelligible as the dramatic Lee's couplet which he composed in the asylum where he was imured.

"I've seen an unscrewed spider spin a thought and walk away upon the wings of angels !" "What say you to that ?" he asked of Oldys ; the latter replied "Ah marry Mr. Lee that's superfine indeed ! The thought of a winged spider may catch sublime readers of poetry sooner than his web, but it will need a commentary in prose to render it intelligible to the vulgar."



Had Calder Campbell studied Jean Paul's dissertations upon tropes and metaphors, the result would have been eminently advantageous to his muse. Quintilian and Adelung would have failed to understand the extracts we have given, as surely as they would with Mr. Oldys have suggested a key to the ravings of the unfortunate Lee.

Mr. Manuel's object is a commendable one and more difficult than, we think, he imagines. We would strongly deprecate the admission of such writers as the ladies we have mentioned, more especially as the preface informs the reader, that there is a goodly array of poets waiting their turn to be recognised.

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*England's Policy in China. By Andrew Wilson. Hong-Kong: A. Shortrede and Co. 1860.*

Few political questions have created such difference of opinion and have in general been treated in such an uncertain and hesitating way as England's Policy in China. The ignorance and obstinate pride of the Chinese have been a more effectual barrier against the entrance of foreigners than even their strict laws have been. The distance of China from Europe, the unhealthy character of its climate and the want of accurate information regarding it, have deterred Europeans and Americans from settling in it to any great extent. After the first war between England and China a greater interest in the latter country was created, some information regarding it was disseminated, and a few commercial advantages were obtained. The second war served to increase our knowledge of the resources of the country without securing for us commercial privileges or inducing any more intimate intercourse with it. Its objects were therefore completely frustrated and a third war became necessary. At home there is evidently a feeling of dissatisfaction at these repeated expeditions to a remote country, with indefinite objects in view which are never attained. England is drained of her troops and men-of-war, and a constant demand for money is made in the House of Commons which falls upon the heavily burdened people in the shape of new taxes. Perhaps the insinuations of our love of pelf are not without foundation. At all events we do not like to pay away money without a sufficient guarantee that it will be rightfully

applied and in the end prove a remunerative investment. In this nineteenth century when Britons are so harmonious in their feeling towards each other, when they are governed by a Queen who is a model of piety, dignity and benevolence, when the seeds of knowledge are sown through the length and breadth of the land, and a common ancestry, a common religion, a common mission in the world, and perhaps too a common danger, bind man to man in bonds that cannot be broken, an outcry against a war that is believed by the nation at large to be just and necessary need not be feared. If the war supplies are grudgingly voted it is evident that the war is disapproved of, or at least that its motives are misunderstood. The present expedition to China has been allowed to slip away from the shores of England bit by bit, cautiously and quietly, so that even the Members of the House of Commons cannot tell what force has been sent to the East. When the whole has been safely sent off and hostilities are likely to commence the nation is told, as indeed it might by a little study have learned for itself, that the original vote of £850,000 is insufficient and must be increased by £3,800,000. This will probably be only the first instalment of an expenditure of many millions. The English have had enough of India and China. Their attention is absorbed in watching the course of events in Europe. Every soldier and sailor is wanted at home, and every pound of the revenue should be wisely laid out for domestic purposes. Trade with China has been increasing at an enormous rate within the last few years, so that there is no preparation or any inclination to expand it so widely and so suddenly as the treaty intends. The delay in sending out forces is one great cause of the unpopularity of the war. The treaty of Tien-tsin was signed on the 26th of June 1858. The squadron conveying Mr. Bruce was repulsed at the mouth of the Peiho in April 1859, and since that period nearly eighteen months have elapsed before any active operations in China have been entered upon by the British and French forces. Meanwhile other and more important subjects have engrossed the attention of the English—the Budget, Parliamentary Reform, the French Treaty and the probability of a general war in Europe. When news of the disaster at the Peiho reached England the nation was clamorous for vengeance, and heartily concurred in the proposal to send out immediately an expedition to redeem the honour of our flag, and to show the Chinese that treaties

cannot be broken with impunity. That sudden and passionate impulse has now had time to cool, and before a blow has been struck the nation repents of its hasty resolution, and grudges any further expenditure on a Chinese War. It is England's peculiar fate to make wars which secure to her neither material nor moral glory. She does not even establish an "idea" by her vast operations. Others, taking advantage of her slow and careful preparations, and making the most of her occasional failings, carry off all the glory. It is some consolation to think that if England does not get her due in the wars she wages it is not on account of a want of bravery in her soldiers and sailors or of money in her exchequer, but on account of her scrupulous honesty, which restrains her from reaping those advantages which other nations do not hesitate to appropriate. She acts with deliberation and conscientiousness and sometimes comes off the loser, where others, acting with reckless precipitation, and unburdened by any conscientious scruples, hazard all on a single blow and frequently come off the gainers.

England's relations with China have never been on a satisfactory footing. One good war, years ago, or one persevering system of missionary or commercial enterprize might have secured a result which is even now distant. That war or that system if ever it had a commencement has never been brought to a successful termination and we are beginning again *de novo*.

We cannot here enter upon the history of European intercourse with China, or explain the principles on which it has been carried on. It has now reached a point when a clear understanding is necessary. China, an independent country dating its existence further back into antiquity than any other in the world, and maintaining its peculiar, political and social institutions unchanged for centuries, chooses to shut itself out from the rest of the world. Any innovation is dreaded; the people are satisfied that they are the wisest and the most important upon earth; they consequently look down with contempt on all foreigners. Such is generally received impression of the opinions of the Chinese. This view of them has been obtained, not from any knowledge that we possess of the people, but from intercourse with the Chinese Government and Chinese officials. That Government is built upon the notion that the Emperor is the offspring of heaven, the incarnation of wisdom, justice, knowledge and every good thing imagin-



able. Consequently the Government employés keep up a constant system of flattery, without which they would run the risk of losing their places—if not their heads. The people inspired with this reverence for the Emperor are kept quiet and submissive. In fact the whole system bears a strong resemblance to the Papacy. The Emperor is the Pope, the officials are the priests, and the people are the people. The Emperor like the Pope is the fundamental idea. To him the officials cringe until he really believes himself a demi-god. To the people he is a mere abstraction. The wily officials keep the people in political darkness that they may maintain their own ascendancy, and keep them in constant awe of this abstract civil and religious head of the Empire. Like popery such a system is based on deception, those behind the scenes keeping those at a distance in complete ignorance of the trick, in order that their own dignity, power and wealth may stand secure. England is not sure whether or not she should support this system. When China is at peace, and English subjects are unmolested she has no excuse for interference. But when she has learnt the perfidy and intolerable arrogance of the Government, when she finds former treaties disregarded, her vessels excluded from Chinese ports, her honest overtures wilfully misinterpreted, her Queen and nation spoken of with the utmost contempt, and promises made to her representatives insolently broken, she still continues to have faith in that Government and to treat it with respect. If this is not folly it is certainly extraordinary forbearance. Even while Lord Elgin was on his way from England to China it was doubtful whether actual hostilities would be commenced at all. The Chinese Government had another chance offered to it which it refused, and now that the English nation has been insulted, deceived and wronged, and all its peaceful and benevolent purposes have been thwarted, who can deny that the present war is undertaken on just grounds? Now comes the question of the rebellion in China. For several years past a movement has been going on among the people which has excited great interest in spectators, while it has nearly revolutionised the Chinese religion and Government. This movement has been completely ignored in all our political intercourse with China. It emanated from the people, and in China the only opposition it meets with is the Government and its army. The Taiping rebels have, as a general rule, shown a degree of moderation, and moral rectitude, which

in a revolutionary party are quite extraordinary. The representatives of our Government in China have taken no pains to learn the origin and character of this movement, have formed their impressions of it from isolated and exceptional circumstances, and have not hesitated to bring it into discredit whenever they had an opportunity of so doing. When we remember that this rebellion, with all its faults, is an earnest movement in the national mind, a struggle to shake off the bondage and stagnation of centuries, and to burst open the doors of a great country to let in God's light and God's truth; when we remember that these rebels are decent and moral people, that they hold in their hands the same Bible that we revere and pray to the same God, we are surprised and vexed at the coldness of our Government who can so rudely thrust back the rolling tide of truth and support the mass of hypocrisy and ignorance that has so long withstood the advance of Western civilization, the development of commerce and the spread of Christianity.

The Chinese authorities affect a contempt for trade. When Lord Elgin endeavoured to provide for the residence of a Plenipotentiary in Peking, the Chinese functionaries said in their despatch to the Emperor "Your slaves observed authoritatively that under the Original Treaty 'no state was allowed to send officials to Peking. On business so insignificant as that of trade what business could there be to conduct? Yet 'more, the Imperial precinct of the celestial dignity is sacred ground; how 'could the outer barbarians be suffered to profane it by their presence?" The pitiable spirit of gross flattery and abject flunkeyism of a Chinese official alone could end a letter to the Emperor thus, "The opinion that is within the range of his stolidity your slave in the rashness of his ignorance bluntly declares, and, unequal to the excess of his trepidation, awaits your Majesty's commands. A Respectful memorial, presented supplementarily by your slave Wau-kien." This is the way in which Wau-kien concludes his arguments in favour of appointing Kwei-liang one of the plenipotentiaries. It is difficult to distinguish between the insolence and the ignorance of these Chinese "high contracting parties." The likelihood is that they are not such fools as they seem. They know what they are about in their dealings with foreign representatives as well as in their intercourse with the Emperor, and they play both parts remarkably well. Their deceit therefore deserves the more severe punishment. One of them writes to the Emperor,—“the English

barbarians are however full of insidious schemes, uncontrollably fierce and imperious. The American nation does no more than follow their direction." Thus when England bears the expense, sends the troops and the ships, and conducts the principal negotiations, she also bears all the responsibility and more than all the blame, while other nations have merely to walk in quietly through an open door.

In conducting business with these cunning knaves nothing practical can be arrived at. When a demand is made they say they have no power to grant it or even to discuss it, but still they refuse to refer it to the Emperor because it may be beneath his notice, or contrary to his wishes, in which case they would be punished for laying it before him. It is curious that in the secret edict which was sent to Lord Elgin as having been promulgated by the Chinese Government, but which was declared to be a forgery, a suggestion should be made which was afterwards literally followed. It was proposed to send the barbarians away with fair promises, and when they came back to close the rivers and ports against them, laying chains across and fortifying the positions, all of which, though disclaimed at the time by the Chinese authorities, was actually done at the mouth of the Peiho.

There are only three or four Englishmen in China who know the language thoroughly, and this is one cause of our comparative ignorance of the Chinese people. Those who frequent the open ports are not fair types of the people at large, just as in India, New Zealand, and all countries where native and European come into contact, the class of natives so produced are very different from the natives up the country, and usually inferior to them. Our plenipotentiaries are obliged to trust to interpreters, and a serious barrier is thus raised to their becoming acquainted with the state of things. In the present absence of reliable information about China any book written with an honest purpose should be gratefully received, and even when the principles it advocates are not quite correct, it is valuable as an addition to our information on an obscure subject, and as a new view of the question. In this light we look upon Mr. Andrew Wilson's pamphlet on "England's Policy in China," and though it is not easy to discern what is the main idea of the book, we give the author credit for honesty and benevolence of intention. The general tone of it implies that we have hitherto thought too little of the Chinese, and should treat them in a less unceremonious man-



ner than we have done. In the preface the author says. "The real interests of both nations (China and England) are so coincident, and the Chinese are so eminently a reasonable people, that there is no necessity for having recourse to any acts of violence. What England has already obtained from the Celestials might easily have been got without war, had correct ideas of their character been entertained, and more consideration been shown for their peculiar civilization and position." This is a very kind and humane beginning but we fear it contains one or two fallacies. If the Chinese are so eminently a reasonable people there would have been no war, because the object of the war was to bring them to reason; but whatever may be the case regarding the Chinese people, it is clear that reason is not one of the characteristics of their Government. Again, "what England has already obtained from the celestials." We are not aware that England has obtained any particular favours from the celestials, except such as are fully as beneficial to China as to herself. The author says further on—"the time appears to have now arrived when a reconsideration of our whole position in regard to China may be hoped for; and the following pamphlet is issued as one contribution—however imperfect—to that end." The pamphlet accordingly reconsiders our position but does not appear to arrive at any practical conclusion. Towards the end of the book, the author offers England the choice of two things, "territorial occupation in China, or a policy founded on mutual interests and cemented by a practical acknowledgment of past errors." We are afraid the time for acknowledging past errors has gone by. Mr. Wilson denies the "cunning report" that the Chinese people are eager to cast off their Tartar rulers. We are astonished that a gentleman in China with every means of acquiring information should make such a statement. The rebels have for their immediate object the overthrow of the Mantchu dynasty and the people generally are in their favour. China appears to undergo periodical revolutions, not every few years as in France, but every few centuries, and the period appears now to have arrived for another convulsion. Dynasties are apt to deteriorate, and the present one is quite rotten, besides the Tartars are foreigners and the Chinese people are tired of their oppression. Mr. Wilson has a loose way of illustrating his arguments; he brings forward two very stupid anecdotes and upon them founds arguments regarding our Chinese policy. He says:—

"A missionary, whose character is too high for the supposition that he invented the story even for the sake of the exquisite joke, informs me that once when riding on the outside of a London cab, he told the driver that he had been in China. Cabby was much interested in the subject, and promptly asked,—“Are they a civilized-like people about there, Sir? do they take their gin of a morning?” As a brief handy test of civilization, or of the usual ideas attached to it, I know nothing comparable with this question as to taking gin of a morning. Mr. Meadows’ laboured definitions must give way before it, and even Mr. Carlyle’s test of respectability appears commonplace in comparison. Again, at the taking of Ningpo, in the first war with China, the Tartar troops had just received pay to the amount of six dollars each, and our troops were not long in discovering that fact. It is said that one Irishman, on discovering only five dollars in the purse of a Tartar he had killed, gave the body an indignant kick, as he exclaimed,—“Ye profligate! ye’ve been and spint one of them!”

The Cabman and the Irish soldier afford excellent illustrations of the usual manner in which we judge the civilization and condemn the moral character of the Chinese.”

The stories themselves are not very amusing, and between them and his succeeding remarks we see not the slightest analogy. The following paragraph contains useful and reliable statements:—

“The missionaries who have traversed the empire in native costume, the scientific men who have resided at Peking, the interpreters who have accompanied diplomatic missions to the imperial court, with the laborious students whose lives have been devoted to China,—all these, though their personal interests lead them to depreciate, speak of that country with respect and even admiration, while the ignorant Irishman at the goldfields of Australia, the selfish storekeeper of Singapore, the dollar-hunter of Hongkong, who has not learned two words of the language, and the merchant’s clerk of Shanghai, too often see nothing to admire, little to tolerate, and almost everything to condemn in China and the Chinese. Sir George Staunton, the learned translator of the Penal Code of China, says that those best acquainted with the subject have come to the conclusion that “a considerable proportion of the opinions entertained by Chinese and Europeans of each other was to be imputed either to prejudice, or to misinformation; and that upon the whole it was not allowable to arrogate, on either side, any violent degree of moral or physical superiority.” Of that Penal Code even the *Edinburgh Review* was compelled to say,—“We scarcely know an European Code that is at once so copious and so consistent, or is nearly so freed from intricacy, bigotry, and fiction.” Dr. Morrison, the pious and able author of the great Chinese and English dictionary, said,—“In China there is much to blame, but something to learn. Education is there made as general as possible, and moral instruction is ranked above physical.” Sir John Davis, a great part of whose life has been passed in the country, passed on them one of the highest eulogiums ever given to any people, when he truly wrote,—“Poverty is no reproach among them;” and he is of opinion that they have “been underestimated on the score of their moral attributes.” Dr. Williams, one of the highest living authorities on the Chinese, and who lately visited Peking as Secretary to the American Embassy, admits, though writing as a missionary, that “they have obtained, by the observance of peace and good order, to a high degree of security for life and property; the various classes of society are linked together in a

remarkably homogeneous manner by the diffusion of education and property, and equality of competition for office ; and industry receives its just reward of food, raiment, and shelter, with a uniformity which encourages its constant exertion." It would be easy to make many more such extracts ; all showing that whatever may be the opinion of the prejudiced and ignorant, those who have most claim to be heard in this matter speak of the Chinese with high respect, and are slow to condemn as bad what appears extraordinary and unintelligible."

The chief causes of our unsatisfactory relations with China, the author ascribes to our under estimate of Chinese character, the " Australian and Californian" character of many of our countrymen engaged in business in China, the suspicion which has been engendered by the cruelties of former adventurers, the opium traffic, and the operations against so-called pirates on the coast. There is much truth in the following :—

" China is closed more than ever to the traveller and the missionary, is it more open to the diplomatist or more likely to enter the comity of nations ? Scarcely so when it has for the first time been eminently successful in fight against us, is improving in its long neglected art of war, and has had its faith shaken in our desire to observe treaty stipulations. It must be admitted that at the present moment we are farther off than ever from satisfactory diplomatic relations. Many persons are always looking forward to some satisfactory and invisible end, but as affairs progress, it appears further off than ever. Our representatives assume a higher position than formerly with reference to the Chinese, and it is admitted so long as they have a strong force at their back ; but real respect has not increased, while good feeling has been lost, and the Chinese have learned that we are so far from unanimous in our judgment of the policy to be pursued, that any violent enterprises made against them are likely to be crippled and imperfect. Suspicion of our designs is stronger than ever."

The author says the Tartar Government has now become so thoroughly part of the nation that it is not easy to make any distinction between them for practical political purposes, and he goes on to enumerate several Chinese who were as bad as Tartars and Tartars who were worse than Chinese ; and to say that " the statesmen of China are more enlightened than the public opinion of the country ; but as in other countries their action is limited by the public." It is very probable that this is the case as far as politics are concerned, regarding which the Chinese people are kept in comparative ignorance, but as regards, good feeling, common sense, religion, trade, and social advancement we do not think the opinion will hold. There are very few Europeans who have seen much of the people, but the few that have invariably bear testimony to their kindness of disposition, simplicity of habits,



industry, ingenuity, and general capability. The mass of the people do not take much interest in political affairs; they are satisfied if they have the means of spending a quiet, happy existence, without being too much troubled with their own Government or the interference of foreigners. Mr. Wilson says "It cannot be denied that the treaty of Tien-tsin reflects high credit on the insight and diplomatic skill of the Earl of Elgin, and of his assistants Messrs. Wade and Lay, though its accomplishment was mainly owing to the somewhat overlooked fact that the Chinese Government is willing and anxious to do everything in its power to promote friendly relations with Europe." If the correspondence that passed between Lord Elgin and the plenipotentiaries is reliable, the Chinese Government appeared very unwilling at first to enter into friendly negotiations, and after they pretended to be willing, they laughed in their sleeve and no doubt planned the pretty little piece of work on the Peiho. Mr. Wilson now inserts a communication from a foreign merchant on the question of the Treaty of Tien-tsin. "It is a maxim in the West that treaties once made must be executed whole and in all their parts; and no greater disgrace falls on a Government than the deliberate non-fulfilment of treaty provisions. But this is not the maxim of the East; treaties are not thus understood or executed. The rule with the Chinese, exemplified by the history of their treaties, is that those provisions which are beneficial to commerce, which have received their free assent are binding; and that those other provisions which have not received their free assent are not binding." This is certainly a pretty way of concluding treaties, and if that is the usual practice of the Chinese we must teach them some other way. We cannot afford space to discuss the several provisions of the famous treaty of Tien-tsin, but whatever they were the Chinese agreed to them, and failed to fulfil them. They secured many advantages to China which her statesmen were too obtuse to perceive. They may have been somewhat premature in their demands, but the history of European connection with China rendered it necessary that such conditions should be insisted on. At present we are at war with the Chinese Government, and though we need not give any direct encouragement to the rebels let us not act against them and thus create a triple war in China. If we do not occupy some spot in China it is probable that some one else will. There should be a joint occupation

or none at all; we prefer the latter. Then when our objects have been attained and the troops withdrawn, let us leave the rebels to fight their own way and institute a better Government in China for which we shall be exceedingly obliged to them. We conclude with an extract from Mr. Wilson's pamphlet.

"China is the England of the East; the United States, the England of the West. The three great Industrial Nations of the World have a claim upon each other's forbearance, intelligence, and aid; for it has been by the the same constant fruitful labour, and by regard for the welfare of their people, that peace and prosperity have abounded within their borders. The two more youthful and more vigorous nations may yet find that these calm Celestials—whose grotesque aspects have caused so much merriment—have already solved many great social problems which become every day more threatening both in England and America; that their stored wisdom contains much, besides competitive examinations, which we may turn to account; and that, though weaker than the denizens of the West, they have reached a higher social and political development than any other which Time sees or History records."

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*Weeds of Poesy, by G. L. F. Bombay, Smith Elder and Co.*

WE have had another addition to the Gallery of Indian Poets. G. L. F. is decidedly of the lackadaisical and sentimental school. He is in love with melancholy, and adopts as his motto, "The flower of my life is past. Led by a late-earned experience, I will renounce earthly things. I will weep and no longer sing." He has wept to some effect—he has wept a whole volume of *Weeds*. These obnoxious vegetable productions were culled in the woodland rambles of G. L. F.'s early boyhood. "A few of them," he tells us, have sprung up amid the thorns of youth and manhood." Poor G. L. F. ! thorns were bad enough, but to be afflicted with weeds at the same time must have been unbearable, unless the weeds were of that kind which have the property of smoothing the thorny path of life, and calming the ruffled brain. This bouquet of thorns and weeds G. L. F. "casts on the waters, not of the great sea of the world" in case they should be lost altogether, but "of the narrower humbler rivulets of Friendship and of Love," where he hopes some kind stranger passing by or whose house may be on the bank of the rivulet may pick them up and rescue them from oblivion. Some of them have floated our way, though we cannot be certain how they have reached us. They cannot have been borne

along by the Hooghly, because that is scarcely a "narrow, humble rivulet," nor can they have come up the river carried along in triumph by the *Lore*, because they were never cast on the "great sea of the world." However, the green bouquet is in our hands, and let us be thankful for it whatever way it may have come.

" My God ! it is a marvellous world  
Where thou hast set my place  
Tho' man hath into ruin hurl'd  
Much of its primal grace."

So the notes of G. L. F.'s first verse ring on his lyre, reminding us of the expression of that faultless, gentlemanly and unimpassioned bard who

" Smoothed his cheek, and sleeked his hair,"  
" And said the earth was beautiful."

Having finished his *Proem* the bard goes on with a series of poems beginning with the religious, and through a gradation of meditations on Greece, Rome, Canaries, Roses and Red Indians, arriving at length in the profane territory of Emmanuel and Leonora, and the Maid of Odenwald. At last he is able to control his impetuous Pegasus and brings him back into the proper path in which all good, quiet pegasi ought to run.

" My God, if I have wandered long  
And far from Thee astray,  
Yet hear my penitential song  
And sanctify the lay."

The next verse is a work of art after one of the old masters—Joseph Addison. The picture is not quite correct but upon the whole it can easily be recognised as a laudable attempt. Behold the picture, is it like ?

Copy.	Original.
<p>"Thou know'st the Child, the Boy, the Youth In erring courses ran ;— Spirit of Life, and Light, and Truth, Convert, accept the man."</p>	<p>When in the slippery paths of youth With heedless steps I ran ; Thine arms unseen conveyed me safe And led me up to man.</p>

G. L. F. is evidently very fond of poems of this school, some of which are to be found among the paraphrases and hymns used by Presbyterian congregations, as his frequent allusions to them will show. A passage in his first Hymn, to which we refer our readers, will illustrate what



we mean, and show how nearly his composition comes up to the original or rather the several originals, for the peculiar excellence of this work of art is that it is not copied from a single model but unites the beauties of two or three distinct pieces, blending them into one harmonious whole. We think it not only allowable but highly commendable in beginners to copy the works of masters, and of masters to select the best, but we think it a waste of time for an artist to copy any of his own previous works. G. L. F. has, in one instance at least, done this and we do not think his own copy is equal to his own original.

*Original.*

Like him whose sorrows closed in death  
His earthly TASK will done,  
Who shares the high-sphered Milton's wreath  
IN PARADISE RE-WON.

*Copy.*

Your rapid course, appointed ages, run !  
Bard of the earth ! thou too, thy task well done,  
Shalt share the high-sphered Milton's wreath  
IN PARADISE RE-WON.

In the "Christ Child" G. L. F. attempts that jolting, inharmonious measure called English Hexameter which reached the acme of absurdity in Longfellow's *Miles Standish* and Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy*. The attempt does not recommend the measure but rather confirms us in our abhorrence of it. In the transition stage to which we have already alluded we encounter a poem called "Greece" sighing over the departed glory of that land, and the poem that follows entitled "Repent thee Rome !" administers a severe rebuke to the eternal city for all its past delinquencies, and adjures it in very strong language to repent.

By the Albigensian war—  
By the blood of brave La Vaur—  
By Piedmont's hills in slaughter dyed—  
By thy lying, lust, and pride—  
By each deed of darkness hid  
In Goa or Valladolid—  
By Italia's sunlit clime  
Cursed with heresy and crime—  
By Savonarola's blood  
Whose pile illumed the Arno's flood—  
By English Hooper's dying groan,—  
THOU ANTITYPE OF BABYLON,—  
Repent ! Repent thee, Rome !

We have heard of marvellous things being done during sleep, a man

once learned to swim while he was asleep, and another solved a most intricate mathematical problem. The well known "Rousseau's Dream" is said to have been composed under similar circumstances. Rousseau was lying asleep in his chamber and dreamt he saw a certain old gentleman, who shall be nameless, sitting cross-legged at the foot of his bed, playing the tune, which is now so familiar, on a fiddle, in very rapid time. Rousseau suddenly woke, and remembering every note of the tune he wrote it down. In like manner G. L. F. wrote verses in his sleep and says of them, "though worthless in themselves they are given here as a psychological curiosity," which undoubtedly they are:—

#### THE CANARY.

Gently she drew him from the golden cage,  
And placed him drooping on the sacred page—  
The trembling bird, bewildered, back retired:—  
Then, by Isaiah's prophet-notes inspired,  
Poured forth a stream of song so wild and shrill,  
Awed was each heart, and every tongue was still!—  
He paused—from the half-opened casement shone  
A stream of glory from the setting sun;  
Glanced his keen eyes, his downy plume was stirr'd,  
Quivered each winglet of the wondrous bird.  
Expectant silence sat on every soul;  
Sudden, a low unwonted music stole  
From forth his parted beak, while on him fell  
That halo from the Heavenly Israel.  
"Farewell!"—for thus articulate the sound  
Thro' that admiring audience rolled around:—  
"Farewell, sweet girl!—thy favourite hastes to join  
The spirits of his brother-birds divine.  
"Yet, when at eve o'er thy enslumbered sense  
Mysterious music breathes its influence,  
"Wilt thou not know the singer?"—

As he sings,

A soft air sighs in his dilating wings;  
He rose, and, as the girl stood weeping there,  
Passed from her sight, and cleft the ambient air!

Our bard is evidently a favourite with the muses; they visit him when asleep and breathe soft numbers into his ear. It saves a great deal of time to compose when asleep and write when awake. In fact, we recommend G. L. F. to adopt this system entirely, as the verses produced by the sleeping poet are not so worthless as he modestly thinks, perhaps not so worthless as some he writes when awake.

We are anxious to select from this little volume a passage

that contains real poetry, but we have turned the pages backwards and forwards, read and re-read the pieces, and are at a loss to find any passage which contains an original or a truly poetical thought. The spirit that characterises the poems is excellent, the moral and devotional pieces are written in a truly Christian tone, and by persons fond of that particular style of poetry they will doubtless be highly appreciated; the descriptive poems on general subjects read musically and bring the scenes described clearly before the reader, but beyond this amount of praise we are not prepared to go. The unconscious imitations of other poets we have already hinted at, and the feebleness of thought we have pointed out. We should be very glad to see a poet in India, but as yet we have not been able to discover one. We do not demand of all prose writers that they be original, nor do we even demand a poet to create a new poetic style, but when a man comes forward with poems that contain very little more than the thoughts that pass through the minds of every one of us, and are by many of us, at some insane period of our lives, written down, we cannot afford to shew any quarter. We do not know which poem G. L. F. considers his best, nor can we predict which of such a mediocre collection will survive the effects of time, but to exhibit the general style of the *Weeds* the following extract from "Midnight Musings" will suffice:—

"O now, methinks, how exquisite 'twould be  
To revel, like a creature of the air,  
The long night thro' in the broad flood of moonshine,  
To pass from space to space, or skim along  
Upon the stealthy moon-beams silently  
To lonely places, where, from Nature's urns,  
Gush sparkling fountains, where the wild-deer come  
To bathe their antlered foreheads in the stream,  
Where lingers the gay-plumèd halcyon, where  
Like faery-ship the water-lily floats  
In unseen loveliness, and sighing reeds  
Wave musically o'er the marish-flowers.

"Delicious dream! methinks that I could love  
To be the spirit of this haunted dell,  
This fair oasis in the dreary hills,  
And teach the small birds, and the rippling waves,  
And teach the overblowing winds to breathe  
A prayer for pity on IERNE'S woes!—  
Methinks—

"But I must stay the wandering flight  
Of myriad-thoughted Fancy: not for me



The faery legendry of young Romance.  
 Me sterner duty calls, and I must curb  
 Imagination to the sober paths  
 Of disciplinal and time-hallowed Truth."

With which wise resolution we fully concur, and having seen our bard fairly back into "sober paths" we wish him and his book farewell.

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*The Mutinies in Rajpootana : being a Personal Narrative of the Mutiny at Nusseerabad, with Subsequent Residence at Jodhpore, and Journey Across the Desert into Sind, together with an Account of the Outbreak at Neemuch, and Mutiny of the Jodhpore Legion at Erinpoora, and Attack on Mount Aboo. By Iltudus Thomas Prichard, late of the Bengal Army. London : John W. Parker and Son, West Strand. 1860.*

THOUGH published rather late in the day this work is valuable as supplying an important link in the series of events of which the Bengal mutiny was composed. The more stirring incidents of which Delhi, Lucknow and Agra were the respective centres have already been described. This book contains few stirring events, but treats rather of a mutiny that occurred without the bloodshed and atrocities by which rebellion, in other places, was accompanied. Mr. Prichard was an officer in the 15th Bengal Native Infantry stationed at Nusseerabad at the time the outbreak commenced. The events he describes are those which came under his own observation or were imparted to him by officers on the spot who had the best means of giving him information. The events of which he had personal experience took place chiefly in Nusseerabad and Jodhpore ; those for the account of which he was indebted to friends occurred at Neemuch, Erinpora and Mount Aboo. He resigned his commission shortly after the mutiny was suppressed, and is therefore able to write impartially of public events and of public characters. The value of Mr. Prichard's work rests chiefly on its being a reliable and interesting personal narrative. It does not attempt to grapple with the great question of the origin of the mutiny, or the means necessary to prevent a recurrence of a similar convulsion. It discusses freely, and arrives at a just conclusion regarding, that one point which has formed the subject of so much controversy—the greased

cartridges. It expresses the opinion that the great want in India is the absence of sufficient power in the hands of individual officers at a distance from superior authority, and the careless manner in which the most momentous occurrences are treated by members of the Supreme Government, who have little or no knowledge of India beyond the precincts of the Presidency town; and that physical force must always be the foundation of our rule in this country.

We shall endeavour, in as brief a space as possible, to follow our author through the scenes he describes. The territory of Rajpootana includes a number of petty native states of which the principal are Jey-pore, Jodhpore, Bhurtpore, Kotah, Oodepore and Malwa; at the court of each of these there is always a British officer as political agent. The Governor General's Agent, who resides at Mount Aboo on the southern confines of Rajpootana, exercises authority over all the other agencies. The surrounding states send their vakeels to him, and by this means he is kept informed of all important occurrences. The appearance of the hilly part of the country is thus beautifully described:—

In the mountainous parts of the country the scenery changes much, and becomes bold and grand. Grand it is anywhere, even in its most desolate wastes, for it is impossible to travel through these otherwise uninteresting regions without recalling to mind the wondrous traditions of old times, and the tales of patriotism and chivalry and devotion which the ancient history of Rajpootana is so full of. There is no need of fiction here, where facts are sufficiently imbued with the romantic to satisfy the imagination of the most wonder-loving reader that ever perused the pages of Scott, or waded through the voluminous works of G. P. R. James. Every hill almost that you see has an old ruined castle cresting its summit, to which some tradition is attached, and every now and then you pass the consecrated spot where the widow has in days gone by devoted herself to her deceased husband, and the rude sculpture of the man on horseback holding out his hand to the figure of a woman on foot, carved on the slab of stone, shows where the sacrifice of the suttee was made. Here you pass walled cities where in former days a resolute defence was made against the Moslem invader, till, reduced to extremity, the brave garrison first celebrated what they call their 'jauhar,' that is they made a huge pile of wood and combustible materials and kindled it, threw their wives and children, all they held dear to them on earth, and whose honour was dearer far to them than life, into the flames, and after watching them perish before their eyes, dashed open the gates of their city and courted death at the hands of their enemies. Here you pass the lonely hermitage by the clear mountain stream in a shady dell, the shade only too grateful where the burning summer sun at mid-day has tremendous power, whither the courtier or the soldier, wearied by the toils of ambition, deserted the world and retired to end his days in peaceful contemplation on the attributes of the Deity. Or you may see in other places monastic establishments, supported by the superstition of some raja who, after leading a life of crime, sought to obtain

favour from heaven and satisfy his conscience by founding an institution for Jain or Buddhist priests, on the same system, as our monasteries."

In the centre of this district is a small tract of country called Ajmere, belonging to the British. The principal towns in it are Ajmere, the capital and residence of the Commissioner, and Nusseerabad the head quarters of the Rajpootana Field Force. The troops stationed at this place when the mutiny broke out were the 1st Bombay Lancers, the 30th N. I., the 15th N. I., and the Jellalabad battery of Native Artillery. These were of course all native troops. The mutiny broke out at Meerut on the 10th of May 1857, and the news reached Nusseerabad a few days after. From that moment the officers of the garrison felt the greatest anxiety regarding the conduct of their men. It was evident to them that the startling news from Meerut made their own men restless and excited, though subsequent events showed it could not have taken them by surprise. They concealed from their wives and families the exact nature of the intelligence that had reached them. While their own minds were maddened with anxiety they were obliged to keep up a cheerful exterior and to live on in hope. Those days of suspense must have been far worse in their effect upon the mind and body than the period when the actual danger had arrived. It is always thus: we are elated with the prospect of future fortune which does not realize our expectations when we actually have it; and when peril threatens us we torture our minds with scenes of suffering, danger and death which reality itself cannot surpass. On the 28th of May the Nusseerabad troops mutinied, and from that period the officers and their families experienced a feeling of relief; they knew the worst and prepared to encounter the dangers and difficulties which in the then state of affairs seemed in store for them. One of the features of this Nusseerabad mutiny seems to have been pretty general in similar outbreaks. The officers of each regiment felt confidence in their own men, but had no faith in the rest. The consequence of this was that superior officers were unwillingly deceived as to the probable behaviour of the troops, and bold preventive measures were not taken. The men of each company expressed the greatest possible devotion to their officers, but accused the men of other regiments of mutinous intentions. Up to the very evening the mutiny broke out the officers were obliged to keep up the



appearance of confidence, because if they did not they would only be hurrying on the catastrophe. As the crisis approached the stories about bone-dust and greased cartridges were in every sepoy's mouth and formed the immediate excuse for the rising. A few days before the outbreak a party of the 15th were sent to occupy the Fort of Ajmere in conjunction with a company of the 30th, and each thought or pretended to think the other unfaithful. One man of the 15th while there said to his officers, "Ah Sir, this business" referring to the outbreak at Meerut, "has broken out prematurely, and you will get over your difficulties; but had preparations gone on three years longer as was intended, you would have lost India." This man was a Mahomedan non-commissioned officer; he mutinied with the rest. The Ajmere fort was then garrisoned by a body of Mhairs who proved faithful, and by saving the fort with its arsenal and treasure they probably saved the whole of Rajpootana. The mutiny broke out on the afternoon of the 28th of May. The 30th took possession of the guns; the 15th when ordered to recapture them refused to advance; the cavalry advanced a little way and then left their officers in the lurch. Major Spottiswood was mortally wounded and died soon after; Cornet Newbury was cut to pieces among the guns; and Lieutenant Lock and Captain Hardy were badly wounded. It was subsequently ascertained that there was a private understanding between the infantry and the Bombay cavalry. The latter, though they acted as an escort to the officers, refused to fight against the mutineers to whose mercy they intended to leave their families, and they in return were not to plunder the cash box of the Lancers. The officers now saw that most of the men were in mutiny. Volunteers were called for from the Grenadier Company of the 15th; the whole company advanced and the colours were consigned to their protection. The order was given to march towards the Ajmere road. The grenadiers now refused to move; two men ran off to the mutineers with the colours, and in another moment every musket was levelled at the heads of the officers. They galloped off amidst a shower of bullets but fortunately no one was hit. At length it was decided to abandon the station and go, with the ladies and children, to Beawr about thirty-two miles distant. During the journey thither the Colonel of the Bombay Lancers died suddenly, probably from apoplexy. On the morning of the 29th the fugitives reached Beawr where the Commis-

sioner of Ajmere was at the time. He did not offer that hospitality to the weary travellers which might have been expected. The greater number of the party including all the ladies and children were accommodated in the house of Dr. Small, while the bachelors were eventually entertained by the Commissioner. Meanwhile the station of Nusseerabad had been thoroughly destroyed by the mutineers. They left it and proceeded to Delhi, the great focus of the revolt, closely followed by a body of Raj troops under Lieutenants Walters and Heathcote, but were never overtaken.

Mr. Prichard's narrative now digresses into an account of the outbreak at Neemuch on the basis of particulars furnished to him by Colonel Abbott, 72nd Native Infantry, who commanded the station. This place is about 120 miles from Nusseerabad on the one hand and from Mhow on the other. The troops stationed there in May 1857 were the 4th troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery (native,) left Wing 1st Light Cavalry, 72nd Regiment N. I. and 7th Regiment Gwalior Contingent. On the night of the 3rd June all these troops mutinied. The officers were allowed to depart in safety. The next morning the mutineers plundered the bazaar and treasury, destroying what they could not carry away from the officers' bungalows, and set out for Delhi. They reached this place eventually and became part of the rebel army. After the action of Nyjufghur when Nicolson's column totally defeated the enemy the Neemuch Brigade as a separate force was never heard of. The officers and ladies went to Nusseerabad and thence to Agra which they reached on the 3rd December in safety. Meanwhile the ladies of the Nusseerabad party were in Beawr, waiting to learn the best means to be adopted for their safety. When the Raja of Jodhpore sent an invitation to all the ladies to accept of his protection till they could proceed to Bombay the most of them accepted it, but a few returned to Nusseerabad. Jodhpore is a city of considerable size, containing some 60 or 70 thousand inhabitants. It is built on the extremity of a ridge of rock rising abruptly from the surrounding plain to the height of 300 or 400 feet. The ladies were kindly received by the Raja and very attention was paid to their comfort. Mr. Prichard, who had stayed behind at Nusseerabad, took an opportunity of visiting them and with that purpose set out on his journey in a bayley drawn by two bullocks; the conveyance is thus described :—

"A bayley is about the most uncomfortable kind of conveyance a man can possibly be tortured in. It consists of a small square cart, the seat of which always slants either backwards or forwards, with a roof supported on four slender poles; it is impossible to sit upright in it, for there is nothing to lean against; lying down is equally out of the question, for there is no room wherein an ordinary-sized mortal can bestow his legs. Natives who can sit all day in an upright posture with their legs doubled up in some inconceivable way under them, vastly approve of this method of conveyance, and will ride the whole day and night quite contentedly in a position that would subject every Englishman in a quarter of an hour to the most excruciating cramps. There is no protection from the dust, and very little from the sun, and altogether it is about as unadvisable a mode of travelling as one could well meet with. But in the year of grace 1857 we were not particular. A year before, if any one had told me the time would come when I should consider myself most fortunate in possessing a *lota* and riding in a bayley, I should have either thought my informant mad, or that he was 'chaffing' me."

He was escorted by three Raj Sowars who formed a plan to murder him on the way, but he overheard their conversation, and managed to get rid of them by sending one to Ajmere for his horse and sending another on with the bullock cart. He then walked on and on until he reached Ajmere. After remaining a few days there he went on to Jodhpore, accompanied by a guide called Achal Sing who proved a faithful and serviceable fellow. On halting for the night at native villages Mr. Prichard sometimes put up with Thakoors, whose curiosity regarding him was greatly excited; they asked him all kinds of questions, examined his few travelling accoutrements and insisted upon his eating before them:—

"The attitude assumed by Achal Sing on these occasions was sufficiently amusing. He regarded me something as Barnum would have done had I been a dwarf or a marmalade. Without any sympathy with my wish for privacy or desire for repose, the more I was surrounded with visitors, the better he was pleased; the notice I attracted seemed to him a source of unfeigned gratification, exactly in the same ratio in which it was disagreeable to me. I was his pet dancing bear, and he was the showman. So he would bring his huge carcass into the room (for he was an enormous man, with his broad chest and thick muscular limbs—a regular Hercules), and seat himself on his haunches, with his back against the wall, rest his chin upon his knees, and regard with a smile of satisfaction the crowds of sight-seers by whom I was surrounded, and the evident excitement my arrival among them had caused. At the same time he seemed to think it incumbent upon him to watch over me as if I had been a child entrusted to his care, and tried to impress on his fellow-countrymen the importance of the responsibility imposed upon him in the protection of my person."

Mr. Prichard arrived safely at Jodhpore, and to occupy his time as well as to render service to the state, he undertook the charge of the Post office which had become a very important one owing to the disturb-



ed state of the country. Jodhpore was the centre of several lines of communication which were kept open by the energetic measures of the executive officers in that part of the country. Another digression in the narrative gives an account of the mutiny of the Jodhpore Legion at Erinpoora, and the attack on Mount Aboo. The first accounts of the latter occurrence received at Jodhpore proved to be grossly exaggerated. The Erinpoora mutiny was a more serious affair. Lieutenant Conolly, the Adjutant of the Jodhpore Legion, was the only European in Erinpoora with the exception of some sergeants and their families. The false and exaggerated accounts of the attack on Mount Aboo which reached Erinpoora, fanned the flame of rebellion, which was already flickering. Lieutenant Conolly was in a dangerous position. He did all that was in his power to restrain his men but they were uncontrollable. On the day of the mutiny many of the mutineers were for taking his life which they would have done had not one or two of them, among whom was the well known Abbas Ali, interposed in his favour. The next day the sergeants and their families were allowed to go, but Conolly was carried off. The following details of this officer's escape are given in his own words, extracted from a letter to Captain Black :—

“At Doola they had three or four rows—councils they called them—about me. At last, Mihrwan Sing and the other beauties, seeing Abbas Ali would not give me up, said I might go solus. Next morning, they sent again to say, no, I should not go. However, Abbas Ali and his men surrounded my charpoy all night ; we none of us slept, and on the morning of the 27th, when the force was ready, the guns were loaded, the infantry shouldered arms, and I was brought up. I was told to ride to the front ; poor Dokul Sing, the havildar-major, and some others, ran out blubbering ; Abbas Ali and Abdool Ali, rode up on each side, made me low salaams, and told me to ride for it ; that not a sowar should be allowed to interfere with my retreat. My three sowars, who, I have forgotten to say, had stuck to me as if I had been their brother since the very beginning, by a preconcerted plan, were ordered to see me off a little way. I could not help giving a farewell wave of the hand to the infantry in irony ; they shouted and laughed, the band struck up, and that is the last I saw of the legion. I rode right in to Erinpoora with three sowars ; I came straight here, and the people seemed ready to eat me with joy. The names of the three sowars are, Nusseeroodeen, second troop ; Elahu Bux, third troop (the man who used to ride my grey) ; and Momin Khan, first troop. They left everything behind, and, I must say, are three as fine fellows as I wish to see. By-the-by, the cavalry said if I would agree to turn Mussulman, to a man they would follow me. Very kind of them. They offered me money when I was coming away, and also on the march. I took twenty rupees from Abbas Ali ; now I wish I had taken my pay : they twice offered it.”

This man, Abbas Ali, made an offer to Captain Monck Mason, the political agent at Jodhpore, to desert with a large body of his own

cavalry and the guns to Jodhpore, if he and his comrades were pardoned and reinstated in the service of Government. There was no time to communicate with a higher authority, and so Captain Mason was obliged to decline accepting this offer in consequence of the Government order that no officer was to treat with rebels as long as they had arms in their hands. One of the Thakoors under the Raja of Jodhpore, the Thakoor of Awah, was at this time in rebellion against his feudal lord. These petty rebellions were very frequent in Rajpootana. The Jodhpore Legion had to pass near the Thakoor's fort on their way to Pallee. The Thakoor had sent an emissary to Captain Mason to arrange terms between himself and the Raja, in which case he, the Thakoor, would lend his aid against the rebels. Captain Mason had no authority to interfere without the Raja's advice, but the emissary refused to treat with the Raja. The consequence was that the Thakoor of Awah made common cause with the mutineers, and waged open war with the Raja and the British Government. A body of the Raja's troops was accordingly sent to lay siege to Awah under the command of Anar Sing, a brave and and favourite officer. The Raja's troops were very lukewarm in the cause they were supposed to fight for and nothing could be done. Captain Mason went out from Jodhpore to the camp to encourage them, and the result was that he was killed. He was a favourite with all who knew him, and his death at this critical juncture was an irreparable loss. Meanwhile Brigadier General Lawrence had been besieging Awah with 150 men of the H. M.'s 83rd, three guns, a portion of the Mhairwarra battalion and the 1st Bombay Lancers. This was about the middle of September. Had General Lawrence been supported by the Raja's troops we might have taken Awah, but with so small a body of Europeans and reliable native soldiers it is not to be wondered at that he did not think himself justified in storming the place, and he retreated ; soon after this the mutineers went off to Delhi leaving the Thakoor and his men in the fort of Awah, which was evacuated in January 1858 when besieged by Colonel Holmes and his column. In October news reached Jodhpore of the murder of Major Burton and his sons at Kotah of which Mr. Prichard gives the following account :—

“One day in October we were startled by the intelligence of the treacherous assault on Major Burton, political agent at Kotah, and the murder of that officer, his two sons, and the medical man attached to the agency. In many of the published accounts of this transaction, the Kotah Contingent

was described as having enacted this tragedy, but this was a mistake into which certainly no Indian writer ought to have fallen. The men who attacked and killed Major Burton were the king's regular troops—a body of soldiers entirely distinct from the Contingent, which was drilled and commanded by British officers, and which mutinied, as before related, at Agra, on the 5th July. Major Burton had returned with his two sons to Kotah, from Neemuch, where they had been residing, upon the assurance of the Raja that a residence at Kotah would not be attended with danger, and from a desire to be at his post. The day following his return he was surprised by hearing a great noise, as of a multitude approaching from the direction of the city towards the Agency. At first he supposed it was a procession coming out to welcome him back, but he was soon undeceived, for it turned out to be a large body of the king's troops coming to attack the Agency. They brought guns down to bear upon the place. Major Burton and his two sons retired to the top of the house, where they defended themselves for several hours against the host of cowardly assailants, but were at length overpowered, and cut to pieces."

At length Mr. Prichard was enabled to relinquish his Post Office duties and resolved to leave Jodhpore with his wife and as many as were desirous of going to Bombay, by way of Hyderabad and Sind. Lieutenant Tyrwhitt accompanied the party with a strong escort composed chiefly of Sind Police and Beloochees. Their way lay across the barren deserts of Sind, and the journey, though relieved by many a pleasant incident, was by no means free from inconvenience and danger. The following is a graphic description of the scene the party presented as they wound their way over those lonely regions :—

"On moonlight nights our caravan looked most picturesque, and I often cantered off the road, to the summit of the rising ground at a little distance, to watch it winding along below me: the wild-looking escort of their camels and horses, covered with gaudy trappings; the matchlocks and steel, wherever visible, glittering in the moon's rays; the long line of carts wending their way in single file; then the flanking parties, mostly on camels, and the quaint 'ruts', with their pyramidal coverings, the motley group following in the rear, amid which the elephant towered like a large ship among a fleet of little boats, all passed below me like a panorama, while ever and anon the sound of laughter or the chorus of some rollicking song, swept through the clear, bright air, and fell, mellowed by distance, on the ear; while all around, far as the eye could reach, stretched an interminable waste of desert, stunted shrubs, and undulating ground, unblessed by a single spot of verdure or cultivation, or a single trace of human habitation. There is something glorious in the intense solitude of the desert, a feeling akin to that one experiences on the sea shore. There is a charm in the very luxury of desolation, a music in the very intensity of silence, not even the wailing howl of the jackal being there to interfere with the solemn stillness that reigns over everything. One can easily imagine how it was that in ancient times, when men thought it a duty to leave the only place where they could do their duty—that is, the busy world, where man meets man in the daily struggle of life—and waste their intellectual energies in contemplation, they chose the solitude of the desert for their resort. There is little



indeed to admire during the day, when the unclouded sun lights up every thing with a distressing and monotonous glare, but at night, when the stars shine brightly through the clear atmosphere, or the moon sheds her gentle rays upon the scene of solitude, a man can feel the littleness of earthly things, for there is nothing external at all events to intervene between his soul and God."

After arriving at Hydrabad the difficult part of the journey was over, the remaining two days of it being performed in a steamer which landed the whole party at Kurrachee. Mr. Prichard there found every thing in a state of excitement; the town was full of strangers who arrived from all parts, and of troops which had just arrived from England. Having sent his family on to Bombay, Mr. Prichard attached himself to H. M.'s 7th Royal Fusiliers and marched with them to the Punjab.

To all who read the volume we have thus briefly sketched its merits will be evident. The style is one distinguished by good taste. Some books on the mutinies are written in such a careless off hand manner that readers are naturally disgusted with them; others are vitiated by egotism and conceit; from these faults Mr. Prichard's book is free. The account of the important events he described is here and there agreeably relieved by light and cheerful descriptions that find an appropriate place in personal narratives, and that have within the last few years become a *sine qua non* in all books on general subjects which meet with the favour of the public.

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*The Bible for the Pandits: The first three Chapters of Genesis diffusely and unreservedly commented in Sanscrit and English, by James R. Ballantyne, LL. D. Madden: London. Lazarus: Benares. 1860.*

THIS, we presume, is Dr. Ballantyne's farewell to India, though not (we trust) to Indian literature. In his new position at the India House Library, he will have ample opportunities of working out the design, of which the pamphlet we are noticing is the first instalment;—an annotated translation into Sanscrit of such leading portions of the Bible as may furnish a connected view of the nature and ground-work of our Holy Faith.

During his fourteen years' residence in India, Dr. Ballantyne has been gradually clearing his way to this great end. Soon after his arri-

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val he sat down to the task of enucleating the meaning of the several schemes of Hindu philosophy. His editions of the popular Text Books of the different Schools are well-known and appreciated. He next edited, for the use of the Pandits, some European Treatises, (as Whateley's Logic and Rhetoric, and Berkeley on the Principles of Human Knowledge,) which appeared likely to interest them and win their confidence. He then gave them a "Synopsis of Science," employing the general method of arrangement with which they were already familiar from their study of the Nyaya. The "Synopsis" after leading the student up to a discussion of the nature of Historical Evidence, concluded; "Let professing Revelations be examined." This was the end of his first cycle of teaching. He next began with a Treatise in which the comparative claims of the Christian and Hindu religions were canvassed. This treatise (entitled, "Christianity compared with Hinduism,") which was noticed by us in a recent number, concluded with advising the reader to "Search the Scriptures;" and to do so, using the prayer; "shew me the truth,—who am seeking it." The annotated "Bible for Pandits," of which we have now before us a specimen, was the natural sequel to the above Treatise.

How methodically Dr. Ballantyne has proceeded in all this may be best seen, if we quote a passage from his discourse on "Translation into the languages of India" written in 1854, in which he tells us what he conceives should be the ultimate aim of education.

"In designing an educational course, if we are to go to work methodically, systematically, and profitably, then regard must be had to the end and to the means. Where no distinct end, or not the same end, is kept in view by those who take part in a discussion, agreement as to the means is pretty well out of the question. And how can we hope, as Bacon says, to achieve the course if we have not first distinctly fixed the goal? It may be said, indeed, that there are more goals than one, inasmuch as we do not expect all our pupils to go as far as the one who goes the farthest. Be it so; but let us first settle the goal for that *one*, and then the various stages which the others may content themselves with reaching, will all lie along that more extended course.

"Shall our absolutely ultimate end, then, be the production of a first-rate engineer, or of a valuable revenue officer, or of an accomplished native magistrate? With this I am not prepared to be satisfied. *My proposed end is the making of each educated Hindu a Christian,—on principle and conviction.* This end, as I propose here to indicate, implies every thing that the amplest course of education can comprise."

The Commentary on the "Three first Chapters of Genesis" is, on the whole, well adapted to the object the writer had in view; which was

(as he tells us) to let the Hindu know, what Christians believe and why they believe it. He modestly professes only to select, combine, and shape materials already supplied by other writers ;—among whom his chief authority appears to be Kurtz.

One thing that strikes a reader, on even a cursory perusal of the Commentary, is, the firmness with which the Author insists that his reader shall bring to the study certain *moral* qualifications. However much a warning of this kind may be neglected in some quarters, it is obviously the dictate of common-sense. Even Pagan teachers, in the Academe or the Porch, required that their hearers should bring with them certain *right principles*. Dr. B., therefore, is fully justified in asking that his Pandits shall approach the study of his book “devoid of malice and not bent on wrangling ;” He declines attempting to prove the existence of a Creator, because “all men believe in it, except, perhaps those who by cavilling have confused their own understandings :” “The *competent* reader,” he says, will not ask for proof in such a case. The well-qualified student, he says, will many times be satisfied with knowing the truth of *fact*, without seeking to ascertain the *reason* of the fact. A time may come, he urges, when we shall have a deeper insight into the secret things of God ; but “previously to such great and final manifestation of the hidden things of God, *we have only to expect with humility* ; and the mysteries which in our present state we cannot comprehend, we must silently acquiesce in.” When an objector asks, “*How could* a divine communication be made to the sacred historian ?” he replies, that to know *that*, one ought to be one’s self inspired ;—a reply which he illustrates by the following apologue ;—

“In a certain village the whole of the inhabitants were blind from their birth, and one of them obtained his sight by means of a surgical operation. His companions having learnt that he was able to describe what was going on at a great distance even better than they themselves could tell what was going on close beside them, desired him to say by what means it was that this knowledge reached him. He endeavoured to declare it to them, but he found his endeavours useless. They could not in any way understand how a knowledge of the shape of objects not within reach of his hand could enter by the front of his head ; but that such knowledge really did belong to him, *those who candidly investigated the truth of his words became assured*.—The application of the illustration to the matter illustrated is obvious.”

All this is perfectly natural and rational. Dr. B. clearly felt that



in addressing persons like the Hindus more was needed than appealing to their reason. A certain submission of the reasoning faculty, candour, humility, patience, and similar moral qualities were eminently necessary.

We notice all this the more pointedly because, in a somewhat multifarious and discursive Introduction to his *Specimen Translation*, Dr. Ballantyne has said much that seems to bear in the opposite direction;—as if religious questions might be discussed with no more reference to moral qualifications than would be demanded if we were dealing with a geometrical problem.

The provocation to this (evidently) hasty composition was given by the *London Record*; which, in a review of his Essay, charged him with having addressed “the head rather than the heart.” It would have been easy to reply that his address to the head was *in order to gain entrance* to the heart. Instead of saying this, however, Dr. B. rushes forth, with keen logic and stout rhetoric, and indignantly accepts the reproach:—“Yes, he *was* addressing the head; and meant to do so; there were plenty of people—the whole Missionary body—addressing the heart; and to very little purpose. *He* would have nothing to say to the heart;”—which he speaks of as a very weak and ‘womanish’ part of our nature. “I address ‘the head’ *exclusively*,” he says, at p. xi. Now we entreat Dr. Ballantyne to forgive us if we say that we prefer his (normal) practice to his (effervescent) theory. In his Commentary he *does* appeal (and most justly) to those sentiments of modesty and humility and docility, which are indispensable to any profitable examination of moral or religious subjects. He does, also, (most reasonably) recommend his pupil to pray to God for His illumining grace. No sensible, religious-minded man could do otherwise. Why, then, after this spontaneous endeavour to put the heart in a right frame, should our author have allowed himself to accept the *Record's* view of the impossibility of addressing *head and heart* simultaneously? Why this supposition of implacable hostility between the intellectual and moral parts of man? Why this handing over of the “heart” to the dominion of *sentimentality*? We would—with the greatest respect to Dr. Ballantyne—enter a firm and decided protest against any such cowardly concession. The *heart* is no more to be identified with sentimentality than the intellect is with sophistry. Manliness, not weakness, is the true

characteristic of a cultivated heart ;"—manly, sober, brave, *faith*,—such as Socrates showed in the face of death, when the strongest efforts of speculation seemed to yield but little solid ground for him to rest his convictions upon,—such as St. Paul, with the full light of Revelation beaming down on him, was still called upon to exercise ;—for, in every age it remains true ;—"The righteous man lives by faith."

Dr. B. refers us to Bishop Butler as one of his chosen models. Now, that Butler appealed to men's intellects, who doubts ? But it is equally certain that his addresses to the intellect are among the most searching appeals to the heart and conscience ever made by mortal man. We may add that in his xiiiith Sermon, Butler expressly laments that in his age many had recoiled from enthusiastic extravagances, till they got "into the contrary extreme, under the notion of a reasonable religion—so very 'reasonable,' *as to have nothing to do with the heart and the affections.*" Again, as regards the question of *humility* ; probably no human writings (unless, perhaps, Pascal's) dwell so much as Butler's do, on the necessity of the religious inquirer's coming to his task in the spirit of genuine humility.

If there be any who give way to a "spurious humility, which is only a mask for indolence," we resign them to the unmitigated weight of Dr. B.'s censures. But we have no grounds for thinking that such a charge lies against the *missionaries*. We know sufficient of that body to say, that we believe they will read Dr. Ballantyne's remarks without any feeling but that of benevolent regret, as regards the writer's misconception of their character, and of earnest desire to profit by any of his suggestions. None are more ready than they to acknowledge that perhaps they have not always ploughed or sowed or watered the soil of the human heart aright. At the same time, we are in justice bound to maintain the right of the Missionary to follow out *his own methods* freely according to his own conscientious convictions. It is an excellent thing for a man to act, as Dr. Ballantyne has acted for fourteen years,—to do his own work in his own way, and to let others do theirs in their way. It is the most useful, as it is the only safe and comfortable mode of procedure. A learned layman, who eulogises the Missionaries (as Dr. Ballantyne does, very genially) for their self-devotion and laboriousness, gets into a false position, when he complains that they do not give up their time to the study of Sanscrit. Suppose it to be

true—without inquiring whether it *be* true—that ‘no missionaries are profoundly versed in Sanscrit’;—does not this proposition necessarily involve another,—that ‘no men profoundly learned in Sanscrit are missionaries’?—And *whose fault is that?* Dr. Ballantyne has the remedy for this state of things in his own hands. Supposing the proposition to be true at present, he can, by his own act and deed, strip it of its truth by to-morrow’s dawn. The mission field is open to all well-qualified candidates. If those who have had facilities for acquiring Sanscrit learning say they are otherwise engaged; or they are not disposed to become missionaries;—well;—let them, at least, admit that the fault of those, who have given themselves up to the work of preaching and teaching in the vernaculars to the neglect of Sanscrit, is not greater than theirs, who, possessing a wide acquaintance with Sanscrit, do not devote it expressly to the cause of religion. If it be said, that they *are* engaged in furthering the progress of Truth, as laymen,—good; we say again;—then why call on the clergy to leave their more special functions, and intrude on a province already so worthily occupied? Proceed, as you have done, and let the missionary have the benefit of your labour without upbraiding.

The Missionary is, we think, taking up a perfectly justifiable position, when he looks on the Sanscritologue as the Statesman does on the economist. He receives the results of his special investigations with gratitude, and uses them so far as they appear likely to conduce to his own higher aims. But he does not, by this, subject himself to the censure of the scientific investigator. A statesman may, if he please, become an economist; and the Missionary a Sanscritologue; but these are, in fact, departures from their strictly proper occupations. The statesman’s eye has to traverse a far broader area than the Economist’s; and the Missionary’s than the Metaphysician’s or Philologer’s. Theology still maintains her ancient right to subordinate the labours of all other scientific inquirers to her own transcendent pursuits. The Missionary may not be able to edit the Rig-Ved, to annotate the Vishnu Puran, or to write clever dissertations on the Darshanas; but he may make what is written by men who are able to do these things, ancillary to his own work.

We would now gladly close these remarks. But we must not forget—*Amicus Plato, magis amica veritas*. Duty compels us to use our censorial



authority on some passages of the Introduction, which seem to us more or less objectionable.

1. Dr. B. has expended a large amount of his ingenuity on the inquiry,—Can the word *Nirguna* be properly applied, as it is by the Vedantin, to Almighty God? It strikes us that the controversy might be easily cut short, if the following preliminary question were first settled. Supposing that *guna* refers only to the qualities of material things :—has the Sanscrit, we ask, any term that could be used of spiritual qualities or attributes? If it have, let the word be produced; we shall know what use to make of it. If it have not, where can be the use of employing so inadequate an instrument of thought,—one that can only adapt itself to the two antipodal errors of Idealism and Materialism—in the discussion of theological topics? The sooner such a language modestly retires into the domain of the past, the better. The English reader of Dr. B.'s Anglo-Sanscrit dialogues might readily be led to infer that there *must* be some Sanscrit term corresponding to "attribute;" or how—he may ask—could it represent such a sentence as this?—"Instead of holding, as they (the Vedantins) are so often accused of holding, that God has no attributes in *our* sense of the term, they hold in fact that *He is ALL attribute, sheer existence, sheer thought, sheer joy.*" The Sanscrit, however, for the words in italic is simply "*Kewala sachchitanandátamakam,*" which does not even touch the question. This abstinence from all attempt to reproduce the pointedness of the English, enables the Sanscrit translator to steer clear of the occasional inconsistencies of the original. E. g. At p. 54, the Vedantin who had before been affirmed to hold that Almighty God was "*all, attribute, &c.*" is now made in the English to say that "*Knowledge is no quality, but the Thing, (vastu)—The One Thing—the Absolute.*" The Sanscrit of the part in italic is entirely silent about *vastu*: it runs simply "*ekádwtiya brahma rupoh.*"

2. At p. lxx. Dr. B. says that "Germany constantly and England occasionally gropes after" the principles of which "the Vedanta is a calm, clear, collected exposition." The principles thus approvingly spoken of, are those of *Idealistic Pantheism*;—perhaps the subtlest poison, which the human spirit ever drank. Elsewhere Dr. B. shows that he is fully aware of the erroneousness of the Hindu systems. He admits that "the distinction between right and

wrong is well-nigh obliterated among the mass of the people ;" and remarks that "this state of things, whether *brought about* or not by the philosophical systems, is emphatically *symbolised* by them." We should like to see this (p. xcii.) suggestive hint developed with Dr. Ballantyne's rare power of illustration. An essay on this point would be worth half a dozen ordinary treatises on Hinduism.

3. At p. lxxxvi, Dr. B. uses what we think very hasty language about the origin of evil. He objects to a person's speaking of 'God's *Permission* of Evil ;' because, he says, such a phrase "necessarily implies that Evil has been created by another Creator or else that it is self-existent,"—both of which are manifest absurdities. But surely there is a *third* alternative hypothesis ; and that the very hypothesis which gave rise to the common use of the word "permitted" in reference to Evil. This explanation, which is at least as old as St. Augustine, says ;—evil is not a *positive* thing ; it is the *absence* of good ;—and the *possibility* of a dereliction of good is inherent in the very existence of a finite creature possessing free agency. Now it is quite true, that this explanation does not pretend to say *how* this possibility became actual ; still the fact that moral probation involves in its very idea the possibility of turning away from good, does at any rate rescue us from those other monstrosities to which Dr. B. restricted us.

4. One more remark—the most important of all,—and we have done.

Dr. Ballantyne uses the word "Absolute," as if he thought it one of his "strong points." We are persuaded that it is a constant source of weakness to him. As employed by him, the word "*Absolute*," [generally rendered in the Sanscrit *Brahm* !] is a manifest *limitation* of the Godhead ; evacuating our conception of God (which, though infinitely unworthy of HIM, is yet the noblest of human possessions) of all that immeasurable 'length and breadth and depth and height' of essential glory, that belongs to it in the mind of the instructed Christian. "An Absolute Essence" he says, (p. lxvii) "related to qualities is a plain contradiction in terms." Yes, we reply, if by the "Absolute" you mean *absolute privation* ; but not, if you mean by it (what the word ought to mean, if used of the Ever-blessed God, absolute fulness of every good that ever was or shall be, or is possible,—absolute perfection. It is

simply an equivocation to oppose *Absolute* in this sense to the possession of attributes. In the all-perfect, self-existent, ever-blessed, Nature there exist, (we doubt not,) illimitable, inconceivable, treasures of—what angels may speak of in more apposite terms, but we lisping in human language may call—essential attributes. This infinite fulness we believe was neither increased nor diminished by the Creation of the Universe any more than (nay, infinitely less than) the luminous power of the solar orb is either augmented or lessened, when a ray that has travelled down to our earth falls on a prism and is refracted into a spectrum. The sun remains the same, the properties of light remain the same, whether the prism be held out or not. To our poor minds the Divine Nature may seem—nay, must seem—broken up,—refracted, into separate attributes, (Justice, Goodness, &c.) whilst they co-exist in Him in inseparable Unity ;—but that is no reason for denying either the reality of the existence of those Attributes in Him or the truthfulness of our thoughts concerning Him.

“ We have spoken freely (as Dr. Ballantyne, we are sure, would have us speak) of what we believe to be the merits and demerits of his recent publication. We sincerely admire his many great endowments. It is because we do so—and because we hope that India will yet draw (more largely indeed than heretofore) on those endowments—that we have allowed our animadversions to extend to so great length. Few men have the metaphysical power that he has ; fewer still possess his facility in propounding and illustrating his conceptions. We trust that both these high gifts may be long devoted to the noblest object ever set before the energy and zeal of our countrymen,—the diffusion of the knowledge of the “ True God and eternal life” among the millions of India.

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